Studying tourism in Greenland through collaboration

A social practice approach

Chimirri, Daniela

DOI (link to publication from Publisher):
10.5278/vbn.phd.hum.00104

Publication date:
2021

Document Version
Publisher's PDF, also known as Version of record

STUDYING TOURISM IN GREENLAND THROUGH COLLABORATION

A SOCIAL PRACTICE APPROACH

BY
DANIELA CHIMIRRI

DISSERTATION SUBMITTED 2021

AALBORG UNIVERSITY
DENMARK

STUDYING TOURISM IN GREENLAND THROUGH COLLABORATION

A social practice approach

by

Daniela Chimirri

AALBORG UNIVERSITY
DENMARK

Dissertation submitted

Dissertation submitted: January 2021

PhD supervisor: Associate Prof. Carina Ren
Aalborg University

Assistant PhD supervisor: Associate Prof. Lill Rastad Bjørst
Aalborg University

PhD committee: Associate Professor Laura James
Aalborg University (chair)

Professor Gunnar Þór Jóhannesson
University of Iceland

Professor Gestur Hovgaard
Ilisimatusarfik / University of Greenland

PhD Series: Faculty of Humanities, Aalborg University

ISSN (online): 2246-123X
ISBN (online): 978-87-7210-876-6

Published by:
Aalborg University Press
Kroghstræde 3
DK – 9220 Aalborg Ø
Phone: +45 99407140
aauf@forlag.aau.dk
forlag.aau.dk

Printed in Denmark by Rosendahls, 2021

CV

Daniela Chimirri holds a Bachelor degree in Business Administration and Management from the Berlin School of Economics and Law (Berlin/Germany), and a Master's degree in Global Tourism Development from Aalborg University (Copenhagen/Denmark).

Her main research area is Arctic tourism, with a main focus on tourism in Greenland over the last four years. In this context, Daniela is particularly interested in sustainable tourism development, community based tourism approaches, collaboration theory, co-creation in tourism, tourism practices, and the interrelation of tourism with other aspects of everyday life.

Her journey into the world of Arctic tourism research started in 2016, when Daniela became part of a project mapping the tourism landscape in Greenland. The dissertation at hand is inspired by this former research project, and it explores how tourism is practiced through practitioner collaboration on a daily basis.

ENGLISH SUMMARY

The research project presented in this dissertation investigates how collaboration in Greenland's tourism sector is understood and carried out by actors on the ground. There has been organized tourism in Greenland since the early 1960s, and government strategy papers and reports officially started ascribing high significance to tourism in the 1970s. Nevertheless, it was first only relatively recently that concrete action toward developing this sector increased. While tourism has come to be regarded as one of Greenland's three main economic pillars, alongside fisheries and mining, this has yet to be reflected in the amount and diversity of research in this field: Despite increased attention from the political side, the literature on Greenland tourism remains sporadic. Moreover, it remains limited in its scope, as it tends to focus on visions and plans for tourism in the future, rather than providing insights into how tourism is actually practiced by tourism actors at present, including the challenges practitioners are facing.

The empirical findings from a precursor project in 2016/17 provided the first practice-based insights into the contemporary Greenland tourism landscape. The interviewed tourism actors in this project have pointed out in particular how collaboration is crucial to them. Collaborating enables them to operate in and cope with the challenging environment of Greenland's tourism surroundings. Yet it remained unclear how tourism actors actually work together on an everyday basis, and how these collaborative practices constitute tourism in Greenland. To fill this knowledge gap, the dissertation in hand explores how Greenland tourism is practiced through collaboration, amongst and across the multiple tourism practitioners in the diverse destinations around the country.

Between April 2018 and July 2019, the author travelled to and engaged in and with Greenland in various ways to learn together with others (i.e., the tourism practitioners) and to co-create the empirical material upon which this dissertation is based. The dissertation is a combination of a monograph and three separate publications. The publications included here and the additional empirical materials discuss and contribute in diverse ways and to different extents to studying the central research interest of the dissertation: how tourism in Greenland is practiced through collaboration. Publication 2 illustrates the life mapping exercise as a methodological tool to co-create the knowledge and understanding of collaborations in Greenland, whereas Publication 1 primarily shows how collaborations unfold in practice. By turning to a practice-theoretical take as analytical frame, Publication 3 explores how collaborations emerge as and through practices. It is these collaborative practices that constitute the Greenland tourism landscape.

Altogether, this dissertation argues for an understanding of collaboration as multiple and entangled complexes of practices. On the one hand, this challenges the

widespread instrumental-managerial and mainly theoretically established notion of collaboration as a strategic tool for tourism planning and development. On the other, it contributes empirically and theoretically to our understanding and the further development of the collaboration concept in the social sciences. Moreover, arguing for tourism as complexes of practices calls for approaches to tourism research that depart from exploring how tourism is actually and practically gone about in everyday life; or, in other words, how tourism is practiced by practitioners on the ground. Finally, in this light, it discusses how practice theory could make a valuable contribution to tourism research more generally.

DANSK RESUME

Nærværende forskningsprojekt undersøger hvordan samarbejde bliver forstået og praktiseret blandt turismeaktører i Grønland. Organiseret turisme i Grønland har eksisteret siden 1960, og i 1970'erne startede officielle kilder, såsom strategipapirer og rapporter fra regeringen, med at fremhæve turisme som værdifuld økonomisk sektor. Selvom det derefter tog relativt lang tid før konkrete udviklingsaktiviteter blev igangsat, optræder turismesektoren i dag som tredje søjle i den samlede grønlandske økonomi, sammen med fiskeri og minedrift. Denne central-økonomiske og dermed politiske betydning af turisme er dog ikke reflekteret i mængden og mangfoldigheden af pågældende forskningstiltag – akademisk litteratur om turisme i Grønland forbliver sporadisk. Herudover forbliver dets fokus ret snævert, idet den primært undersøger hvordan turisme bør planlægges i fremtiden for at maksimere sektorens afkast, fremfor at belyse, hvordan turisme de facto bliver praktiseret som en del af turismeaktørernes dagligdag – og hvilke konkrete udfordringer turismeaktørerne står med.

Empiriske fund fra et tidligere forskningsprojekt i 2016/2017 tilbød første praksisnære indblik i Grønlands aktuelle turismelandskab. I denne sammenhæng nævnte interviewdeltagerne, at særligt samarbejde var centralt for den daglige drift. Samarbejdet gør det altså muligt for dem at drive deres turistiske virksomhed, og at håndtere de mange udfordringer de møder. Det forblev dog uklart, hvordan turismeaktørerne rent faktisk arbejder sammen til daglig, og hvordan mere præcist dette samarbejde udgør Grønlands turismelandskab. Nærværende afhandling sigter derfor mod at bidrage med viden om, hvordan turisme er praktiseret i Grønland gennem samarbejde, blandt de mange turismepraktikere på tværs af landets forskellige destinationer.

Afhandlingens forfatter rejste til Vest-, Syd- og Østgrønland for at lære hvordan turismeoperatørerne arbejder medturisme. Dets empiriske materiale blev dermed skabt i samarbejde med dem. Afhandlingen kombinerer en monografisk tekst med i alt 3 selvstændigt publicerede forskningsartikler/-kapitler. Hver tekst udforsker på forskellig vis og fra forskellige vinkler, hvordan turisme i Grønland praktiseres til daglig. Publikation 2 fremviser afhandlingsprojektets primære metodologiske bidrag, ved at anskueliggøre *'life mapping'* metodens relevans for at samskabe viden og en fælles forståelse af samarbejdet. Publikation 1 fokuserer til gengæld på, hvordan samarbejde udformes på forskellig vis i praksis. Ved anvendelse af et praksisteoretisk forståelsesramme i analyserne af publikation 3 udforskes hvordan samarbejde bliver til i og som konkrete praksisser. Det er lige præcis disse samarbejdspraksisser, der anses som konstituerende for Grønlands turismelandskab.

Samlet set argumenterer afhandlingen for at forstå samarbejde som flere og sammenvævede praksiskomplekser. Dette begreb udfordrer, på den ene side, de

primært teoretisk udviklede og mere kendte, ledelsesorienterede og instrumentelle samarbejdsforståelser, der fremmer en meget specifik idé af samarbejde, nemlig som strategisk planlægningsredskab. På den anden side bidrager denne reformulering både teoretisk og empirisk til grundlæggende debatter af samarbejde som socialvidenskabelig begreb. Samarbejde forstået som praksiskomplekser indebærer derudover for turismeforskningen, at den fremadrettet bør fokusere mere på hvordan turisme rent faktisk bliver skabt som et led i turismeaktørernes daglige livsførelse, dvs. hvordan turisme bliver helt konkret praktiseret af turismeaktører. Slutteligt diskuterer afhandlingen, hvordan praksisteori kan gøre et vigtigt bidrag til turismeforskningen generelt.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Collaboration is more than just the topic of my PhD project—it is also the context in which this dissertation was created. My entire work has been inspired by talks, discussions, and exchanges with apparently inexhaustible supervisors, colleagues, research partners, local community members in Greenland, fellow PhD students, family members, and friends. Ideas traveled between us, were challenged, and co-constructed. The relations and interactions with my family, friends, supervisors, and colleagues throughout these endeavors "recharged my batteries" and provided the energy and motivation necessary to power through the challenging times, encouraging me to continue and finally complete this dissertation. This support was and remains vital for myself and my work.

I would like to thank my parents, Gaby and Gregor Buchholz, for their absolute faith in my ability and the unconditional support in whatever I do. Special thanks to Niklas Chimirri: my husband, friend and "partner in crime," but also my fierce discussion partner and opponent, who continuously challenges me and my work, sparking new ideas and thoughts in the endless discussions in which we have engaged over the years. Both of my supervisors, Carina Ren and Lill Rastad Bjørst, also deserve special thanks; they not only made this project happen in the first place, but they also continuously encouraged and supported me, provided invaluable feedback and constructive criticism, and they helped me to get back on track with "sharp words" when needed. I am also indebted to Naja Carina Frederiksen Steenholdt, who not only proved to be an excellent travel buddy and "wing woman" on multiple fieldtrips to Greenland, she also became a close friend and collaborator.

I am grateful to the Center for Logistik og Samarbejde at Aalborg Port and Aalborg University, who jointly funded this project and made it possible; the Mobility grant of UArctic, which provided travel funds and made my research stay abroad at the University of Mid-Sweden possible; and the Sustainable Business and Demography project (led by Lill Rastad Bjørst). The latter project covered the expenses of my first fieldtrip to South Greenland, and the involvement and participation in the project workshop in Greenland resulted in my first article, which was essential for the further development of the entire project and a turning point in my research work.

Further thanks go to Dimitri Ioannides and colleagues at the Geography Department and European Tourism Research Institute (ETOUR) at Mid-Sweden University. I enjoyed an eventful two months in Östersund. The university and colleagues provided a working environment in which I felt comfortable pitching messy and unfinished ideas for feedback and received valuable recommendations and engaged in fruitful discussions.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

TABLE OF FIGURES

CHAPTER 1 - INTRODUCTION

This dissertation explores how tourism in Greenland is practiced through collaboration, among and across the multiple tourism practitioners in the diverse destinations of the country. It does so by empirically studying concrete tourism collaborations together with practitioners, by analyzing how these collaborations then constitute the Greenland tourism landscape, and by discussing how these findings may empirically and theoretically contribute to a better understanding of Greenlandic tourism as it unfolds on the ground—as a part of the practitioners' everyday lives.

When I commenced my PhD project in the summer of 2017, meanwhile, my initial intention was a somewhat different one: namely to explore tourism collaborations as a potential resource for developing tourism in and for Greenland. This research focus was inspired by the findings produced by "Tourism Development in Greenland—Identification and Inspiration," a research project in which I had participated that mapped tourism in Greenland (see Ren & Chimirri, 2017). This project provided preliminary insights into the Greenland tourism landscape by bringing together knowledge and experiences from multiple tourism actors based on their daily work experiences and associated challenges. The term "tourism landscape" refers here to a complex activity enacted through collaboration among public and private actors and organizations on the local, national, and international levels (Ren & Chimirri, 2017). Embedded in a situational practice approach focused on how tourism (as complex activities) is developed in relation to existing challenges, needs, and resources, the project provided empirical examples of destination-level development in the tourism destinations Kangerlussuaq, Nuuk, Sisimiut, and Ilulissat.

Essential for the emergence of destination-level practices are collaboration and the idea of "tourism plus."[1] Interviewed tourism actors particularly pointed out how collaboration is crucial to them. They stated that the act of collaborating enables them to operate in and cope with the challenging environment of Greenland's tourism surroundings (presented in greater detail in Chapter 2). As reflected in the

[1] "Tourism plus" refers to tourism as complex activities that are commonly produced and co-created with other actors in order to create multiple types of value (e.g., by working with cultural heritage or improving the local infrastructure) (Ren & Chimirri, 2017).

following quote, many of those who were interviewed for this project also indicated that they would like more and better collaboration with other tourism actors:

> "We are small, separated islands, but we should work much more together [...] we should collaborate much more" (Ren & Chimirri, 2017, p. 22).

These empirical findings supported the widely popular theoretical claim that, firstly, collaboration is crucial to overcome the complex and fragmented nature of tourism (Adu-Ampong, 2017; Azizpour & Fathizadeh, 2016; Bramwell & Lane, 2000b; Gajda, 2004; Jamal & Jamrozy, 2006; Zach & Racherla, 2011). Second, collaboration represents a positive and productive "tool" for tourism development (Bramwell & Lane, 2000a; Bramwell & Sharman, 1999; Hall, 1999; Jamal & Getz, 1995; Ladkin & Bertramini, 2002). In this line, scholars argue that collaboration offers potential for dialogue, negotiation, and the possibility for mutually building more widely acceptable proposals for how tourism should be developed in the future (see Chapter 4).

Accordingly, my PhD project initially and primarily departed from a concern that problematized the apparent lack of research centering on promoting (local and translocal) collaboration as a central means for tourism development in Greenland. Consequently, the project set out to investigate the extent to which a collaborative approach could be implemented across the tourism landscape of Greenland. Additionally, it aimed at investigating how a collaborative approach could most appropriately be applied to uncover sustainable tourism potentials in Greenland and to transform these potentials into concrete initiatives.

However, already-documented experiences from my first fieldwork stay in the spring of 2018 quickly came to indicate that collaboration in the practical tourism field cannot be merely considered a straightforward tool for application, as proclaimed by much of the relevant literature. The publication resulting from this fieldwork trip (see Publication 1, Appendix A, p. 107) instead illustrates that collaboration is a highly intertwined ecology of practices, and that collaboration is neither easy nor trouble-free. In the case study of Publication 1, the workshop participants shape and co-create collaboration to (often) very different ends, in some cases connecting and in other cases colliding with other actors. This leads to the article's main point that collaboration never occurs in one coherent, homogenous, and harmonic form, but rather in multiple forms of collaborative activities that affect each other, simultaneously and continuously contradicting and complementing one another.

The building of knowledge and experiences through further fieldwork trips to Greenland, and the engagement with existing documentation materials, such as strategy papers, reports, statistics, newspaper and magazine articles, social media representations, as well as the relatively scarce academic literature on Greenland's

tourism field, kept on adding to the central argument presented in Publication 1, which increasingly questioned my initial research focus. It became more and more evident to me that I would need to fundamentally recalibrate my study, firstly by finding out how tourism in Greenland is actually done through collaboration in the field, and how this collaboration could be grasped in more concrete and nuanced terms, before being able to analyze how collaboration could (positively) add to tourism development.

1.1. STAGING THE RESEARCH PROBLEM: CURRENT CHALLENGES TO TOURISM IN GREENLAND

> "The rapid development of international tourism since 1960 has resulted in an increasing number of areas worldwide becoming aware of this commercial opportunity. This is also the case in Greenland, which is why a committee was set up in 1969 to investigate the possibilities for tourism development in Greenland and the effects such development could have"[2] (Ministeriet for Grønland, 1973, p. 5).

Already in the 1970s, tourism was considered to hold crucial potential for the economic development of Greenland, as seen in the above quote from the Committee of Tourism for the Ministry of Greenland. Increasing numbers of international tourists (from around 500 in 1960 to 6,500 in 1972) (Ministeriet for Grønland, 1973, p. 8) led to an intensified awareness of the importance of tourism for the Greenland economy and its local communities.

Thus, tourism in Greenland has been carried out in an organized manner since the early 1960s (Johnston & Viken, 1997), and government strategy papers and reports officially started crediting tourism great significance in the 1970s (Ministeriet for Grønland, 1973). However, concrete actions toward developing this sector (despite already at the time having been recognized as an important factor in the Greenland economy for a relatively long time) first increased only recently (see e.g. Visit Greenland & AirGreenland, 2018). Statements, such as the following made by the national DMO Visit Greenland, illustrate the intentions for concrete actions.

> "Greenland has, with the decision to build three new airports, chosen to focus wholeheartedly on more tourism" (Visit Greenland, 2020, p. 7).

[2] Own translation from Danish to English.

Such approaches substantially changed the status of tourism, which gradually eased into the spotlight of political and public debates in this Arctic destination; from an insignificant source of revenue to a widely proclaimed and promising factor in Greenland's future economic development. Tourism is now regarded as one of the three main economic pillars, alongside fisheries and mining (Bjørst & Ren, 2015; Kaae, 2002; Naalakkersuisut, 2012). In the strategy paper for the Arctic of the Kingdom of Denmark, the tourism industry is even proclaimed to be the second-largest sector, after fisheries, representing the most important export industry in Greenland and with massive potential for further growth (Kingdom of Denmark, 2011).

Despite the increased attention from the political side, and the proclaimed significance of this sector as expressed in multiple strategy papers, reports, statistics, newspaper and magazine articles and social media representations, literature on the Greenland tourism field remains limited and sporadic. This leaves us with a very fragmented picture of tourism in Greenland, which is solely based on already accessible, second-hand materials. This literature creates an image of how tourism is envisioned and planned in the future, rather than providing insights into how tourism is actually carried out "on the ground."

The claim that we do not know how tourism is practiced on the ground, alongside the question of the role played by collaboration in this context (even though credited high significance by practitioners, see above), is illustratively supported by an example from my own fieldwork material. The following figure of a life map (see Figure 1) was created while on fieldwork in East Greenland in the summer of 2019. Paalu,[3] owner and manager of an incoming agency in East Greenland, sketches out and further explains his view on tourism in Greenland:

[3] Names have been changed to anonymize the research participant's identity. Pseudonyms are used to underline the personal contact and collaborative nature of the research project, as well as to make the individual research participants more recognizable for the reader throughout the dissertation (see 3.2.1.1 for more detail).

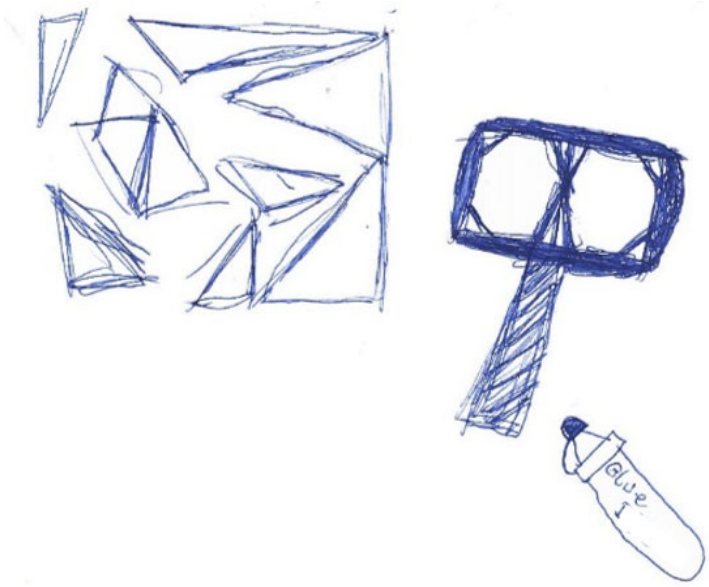

Figure 1*: Life map illustrating the Greenland tourism landscape (Paalu, eastern Greenland, July 2019)*

> Daniela: This is how you see the tourism landscape? Can you explain your drawing a little more?
>
> Paalu: Yes. Here we have a hammer, and this is a mirror. When we put the pieces together, it would be a perfect mirror. But someone smashed it with a hammer at some point. The pieces are the tourism actors. It shows how they basically work together.
>
> Daniela: There are still connecting points, right? It looks a bit like it.
>
> Paalu: There are some, but not a lot.
>
> Daniela: Who or what would you say the hammer is or was?
>
> Paalu: I don't think there is any particular person or events, but something or someone smashed it and destroyed most of the collaborations here […] Basically, we're all doing the same thing here, but we're doing the same thing in very different ways […] It's just very difficult to collaborate here in town in general.

Paalu explains that the tourism landscape was "smashed" by an unknown person/group/instance that swung the hammer. However, there are still pieces, or

tourism actors, that are somehow connected and work together. By adding a glue bottle, Paalu also emphasizes how he sees it as possible to fix this challenging situation. The cap is still on the glue bottle, however, which impedes the restoration of the tourism landscape at this point.

The increasing numbers of visiting tourists to this Arctic destination insinuate that Greenland offers a somewhat functioning tourism landscape (which I will introduce in greater detail in Chapter 2). However, Paalu's life map points to a limited understanding of its concrete empirical reality and challenges, among practitioners and researchers alike, and thus of how tourism is currently experienced and practiced in Greenland. It has thus far been unclear how tourism actors work together and how these collaborative practices constitute tourism in Greenland. Hence, before being able to discuss how collaboration might contribute to the further development of this sector, this PhD study needed to first uncover how tourism in Greenland is practiced through collaboration, among and across the multiple tourism actors in the diverse destinations across Greenland. This dissertation therefore studies and discusses the following research question:

How is tourism in Greenland practiced through collaboration?

Inspired by the RQ, the dissertation pursues the following objectives:

- to explore collaboration in practice in the tourism landscape of Greenland,
- to analyze how these collaborations unfold in practice,
- to understand how these collaborations then constitute the tourism landscape in Greenland, and
- to discuss how these findings contribute empirically and theoretically to our understanding of tourism in Greenland, to the further development of the concept of collaboration, and to discussion of how, in this light, practice theory could make a valuable contribution to tourism research.

1.2. STRUCTURE OF THE DISSERTATION

The dissertation is the sum of a monograph and three publications in total. These publications are referred to in the body of the dissertation as Publications 1, 2, and 3, and they consist of two journal articles and a chapter published in an anthology (see Appendix C-E, p. 113-186). The publications take on varying functions within the present work and across the dissertation's chapters. They are as follows:

> ***Publication 1:*** Chimirri, D. (2020). Collaborative configurations of tourism development: a Greenlandic example. *Journal of Tourism Futures*, Vol. 6 No. 1, p. 24-39. https://doi.org/10.1108/JTF-01-2019-0006

> ***Publication 2:*** Chimirri, D. (2020). Life Mapping: A collaborative approach to tourism collaboration in Greenland. In A. M. Hansen & C. Ren (Eds.), *Collaborative Methods in Arctic Research: Experiences from Greenland* (pp. 97-116). Abingdon: Routledge.
>
> ***Publication 3:*** Chimirri, D. (accepted/in press). Studying how tourism is done: A practice approach to collaboration. *Tourist Studies*.

The dissertation consists of seven chapters, including the current introductory Chapter 1. Chapter 2 introduces the empirical case in greater detail (i.e., the Greenland tourism landscape) in order to further ground the research problem. Here, it becomes evident that we have a relatively clear picture of the multiple political and public debates surrounding the tourism infrastructure, education, and the seasonality problem (see also Ren & Chimirri, 2017). However, we are still left with a lack of knowledge as to how tourism is actually practiced in Greenland. This lack of knowledge is particularly problematic in the case of Greenland, where tourism and its development tend to be politically depicted as cornerstone for the country's independence by centrally contributing to its economic stability and prosperity. As Bjørst and Ren (2015) argue,

> "the development of a strong tourism industry is referred to as one of but a few roads towards growth (fishing, mining, farming, and hunting being the others), and hereby implicitly as a tool for economic independence and higher autonomy as a country/nation" (2015, p. 96).

Chapter 3 presents the study's methodological approach. Particular focus is on the multiple and flexible ways of engaging with the practical field, and in detail on the 'life mapping' method (see Publication 2, Appendix D, p. 139-161) as an alternative way of creating knowledge together with the field and a novel contribution to tourism studies. Chapter 4 conceptualizes collaboration in theory, by introducing the concept in general and accounting for its use in and relevance for tourism research. This chapter ends with the argument for a practice-oriented approach to collaboration, given a lack of empirical studies on how collaboration unfolds and is carried out in practice. Here, a practice-oriented approach is suggested as essential for creating an understanding of how tourism in Greenland is practiced through collaboration. On these grounds, the following Chapter 5 starts by outlining social practice theory approaches as the analytical lens for approaching collaboration in a practice-oriented manner. Chapter 6 connects this theoretical introduction of practice theory approaches to the empirical contributions of Publications 1 and 3. Here, collaboration in Greenland is explored *from within practice*. This chapter is split in two parts. The first part of the analysis (see 6.1.) starts with an exploration of how "collaborations" are done in practice, and it introduces the analytical concept of "collaborative configurations" to denote emerging forms of

collaboration. I have developed this concept based on the generated data from my fieldwork in the spring of 2018. The concept specifies how, empirically speaking, “collaborations” unfold in very different ways in and across diverse heterogeneous practices. This analytical outcome adds empirical substance while criticizing the hitherto established theoretical concept of collaboration presented in Chapter 4. Meanwhile, it explores neither how practices emerge concretely nor collaboration as practice. By adopting the practice-theoretical take presented in Chapter 5, the subsequent analytical part (see 6.3.) turns to these practices and analyses the constitutive elements leading to the emergence or impediment of practices. The constitutive elements form or hinder collaboration and illustrate how practices enact or impede collaboration, which in turn holds the potential to constitute the tourism landscape. Chapter 7 summarizes and discusses the significance of these empirical findings for further developing the theoretical concept of collaboration for the use of practice theory in tourism; and in a nutshell, how these findings regarding the Greenland tourism landscape might help to find ways to re-conceptualize tourism in a manner that accounts for the ontological complexity of tourism, while not succumbing to unwarranted reductions and simplifications.

CHAPTER 2 – TOURISM IN GREENLAND

The following chapter delves into the empirical case of this PhD project, the Greenland tourism landscape, in more detail to further ground and contextualize the research problem. It traces the development of tourism from a marginalized, almost neglected sector in the 1950s to a highly promising present-day industry. In so doing, it will become evident that we have a relatively clear picture of the multiple political and public debates surrounding tourism infrastructure, education, and the seasonality problem (see also Ren & Chimirri, 2017). However, the political prioritization and public focus on certain isolated aspects of the potential of tourism, including contributions to the infrastructure and economy, still leave us with a scarce, fragmented, vague, and blurry understanding of how tourism is actually practiced in Greenland. It does not help tourism actors in the field to understand, tackle, or find solutions to how to cope with the existing challenges.

Based on this chapter, this dissertation argues that before we can discuss how tourism can contribute sustainably to Greenlandic society, we must understand how its tourism actors operate in practice. Instead of remaining within the prevalent public debates, which consider tourism to be a sector contributing to societal development in similar ways as do fisheries and mining, we must turn to the daily practices taking place between tourism actors on the ground. In fact, as shown later, it is their practices that enable and create the tourism landscape in the first place.

2.1. GREENLAND'S TOURISM LANDSCAPE – PAST, PRESENT AND FUTURE

The world's largest island and with only 56,000 inhabitants scattered around its coast, Greenland has the lowest population density in the world. Despite being geographically located on the North American continent, it is geopolitically seen as part of Europe (Statistics Greenland, 2019).

***Figure 2**: Greenland and its geographical location (Associated Press, 2019)*

Since formally transitioning from a colony of the Kingdom of Denmark to a Danish province in 1953, and with the establishment of Greenland Home Rule Government in 1979, the country has been gradually developing its own institutions, while at the same time maintaining strong ties to and receiving existential economic support from Denmark (Kaae, 2002). In this context, tourism has been increasingly discussed as an instrument to develop Greenland's economic development. These discussions increased further with the coming into force of the Act on Self-Government in 2009. Many tourism actors viewed this transition as another step independence from Denmark (Ren, Chimirri, & Abildgaard, 2020). It is widely believed that the well-functioning fisheries, mining, and tourism industries would create a viable economy. As strongly articulated by the Greenlandic government, the improvement of the financial situation of the country is hoped to pave the way and establish the grounds for independence from Denmark and to substantially benefit the local communities and Greenlandic society (Wennecke, Jacobsen, & Ren, 2019).

Tourism in Greenland dates back to the 1950s. In 1953, the political status of Greenland changed from a colony to a Danish province, which marked the point in time when the acting authorities decided to open up certain parts of the country for tourism. In 1959, the first charter flights started bringing overnight tourists from Iceland to Narsarsuaq, in South Greenland, and the first daytrips from Iceland to Kulusuk (on the East coast of Greenland) were arranged (Tommasini, 2014). In the

early 1960s, tourism consolidated in an organized form (Johnston & Viken, 1997). Apart from some sporadic drawbacks due to global circumstances, such as the SARS virus outbreak or terrorist attacks, which affected the tourism industry worldwide, tourism numbers have grown continuously and steadily over the years (see Figure 3). Compared to the long-established fisheries and mining industries, which account for the largest part of the national GNP, tourism remains a young and relatively small industry in Greenland, despite its beginnings in the 1950s and the continuous growth of the sector.

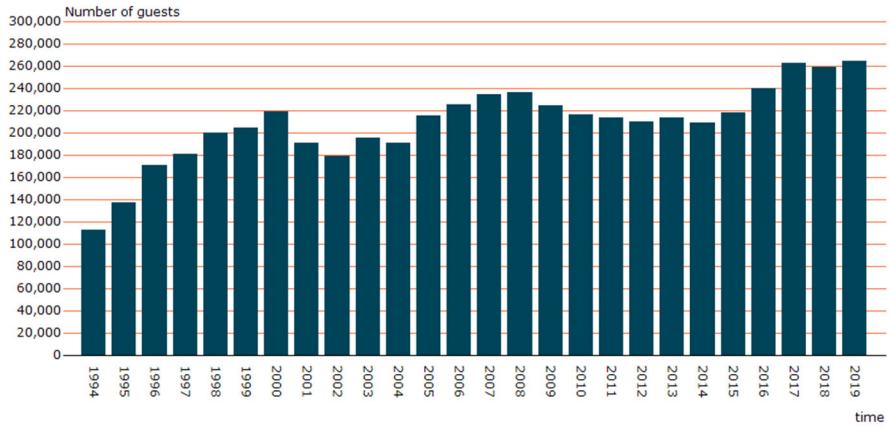

***Figure 3**: Number of overnight stays in Greenland (Statistics Greenland, 2020b)*

Most recently, the national DMO Visit Greenland announced in their annual tourism report that the overnight stays between 2016–18 increased by 10.8%, and the number of cruise passengers by a whopping 88.7%. This corresponds to almost 260,000 overnights stays and a total of 45,739 cruise passengers in 2018 (Visit Greenland, 2020). Despite these numbers, and again compared to the long-established fisheries and mining industries, the contribution to the national GNP made by tourism remains limited. Nevertheless, the increasing tourism numbers in recent years (Statistics Greenland, 2019; Visit Greenland, 2020) have led to the growth and diversification of the tourism portfolio. Entrepreneurs as well as already existing companies developed and launched new and innovative products, ranging from outdoor/wilderness activities (e.g., hiking, kayaking, climbing, dogsled tours, boat tours and sailing, hunting and fishing, photography tours) to cultural experiences (e.g., Greenlandic food, meeting the locals, experiencing the traditional *Kaffemik*, guided tours to historical sites). The diversification of the tourism landscape in connection with the ongoing efforts to market and promote Greenland as a tourism destination by the national DMO Visit Greenland made this Arctic destination even more visible and attractive to visitors. The following statement from a special feature on Greenland in the Danish daily newspaper *Jyllands-Posten*

in 2017 is one of many examples that illustrate Greenland's move into the tourist spotlight:

> "Tourism in Greenland runs brilliantly. There are more and more travelers who choose to visit Kalaallit Nunaat"[4] (Jyllands-Posten, 2017).

The emerging tourism growth increasingly contributes to the turnover and employment rate in many professions, for example in the transport sector, in accommodation companies, and among service providers (Naalakkersuisut, 2016; Statistics Greenland, 2019).

Today, tourists arrive in Greenland by either cruise ship or international flights to Kangerlussuaq, Ilulissat, Nuuk, Narsarsuaq, Kulusuk, or Nerlerit Inaat in Ittoqqortoormiit (see Figure 4). Domestic travel is very different than in other Arctic destinations, as all transportation within the country must take place by air or ship. As few visitors are aware, Greenland has no railroads or even roads connecting the towns and settlements. Everything, from passengers to goods, must be transported via the sea or air (Statistics Greenland, 2019).

[4] Kalaallit Nunaat is the official name of Greenland.

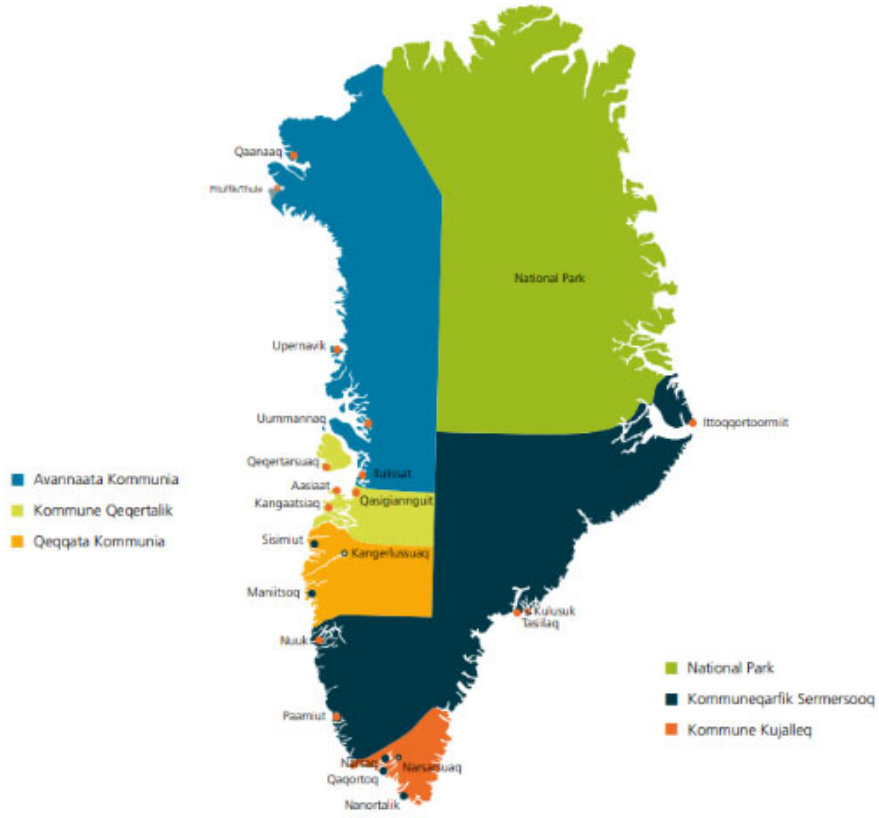

***Figure 4**: Greenland map showing towns, settlements, and the municipal boundaries (Statistics Greenland, 2020a)*

The tourist destinations do not follow Greenland's municipal administrative structure (as seen in Figure 4). They are instead divided into North Greenland, Destination Arctic Circle, the Capital Region, South Greenland, East Greenland, and the National Park (see Figure 5).[5]

[5] This aspect is important when examining statistical data from different sources in Greenland. Numbers from Statistics Greenland are collected and evaluated within the municipality boundaries (see Figure 4), whereas DMO Visit Greenland compiles and processes statistics in accordance with the division of the tourist destinations (see Figure 5).

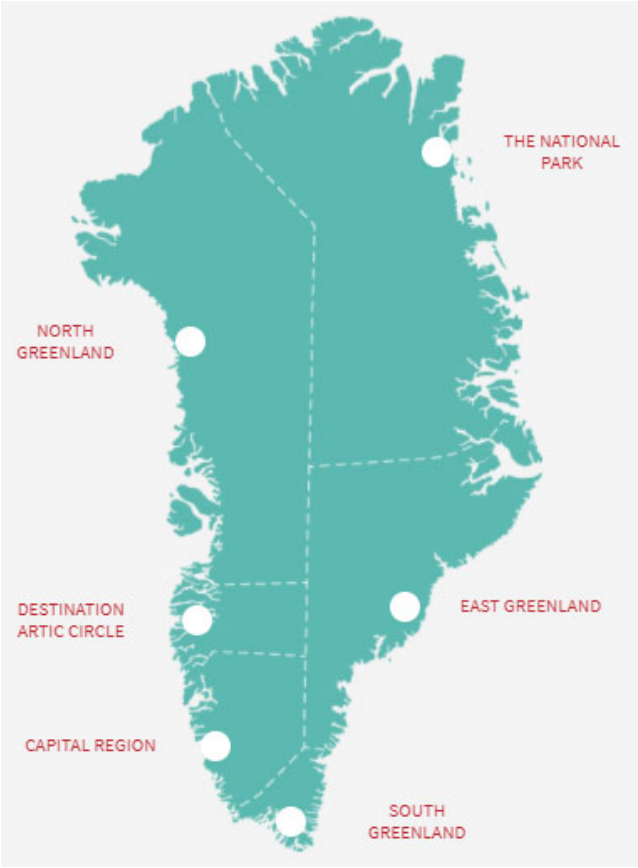

***Figure 5**: Tourist destinations in Greenland (Visit Greenland, n.d.)*

The most popular tourist sites are found in the Disco Bay area (see Figure 6, column "Avannaata/Qeqertalik"), which is located within the destination "North Greenland" just north of the Destination Arctic Circle. The most-visited town and settlements in this region are Ilulissat, Qasigiannguit, and Aasiaat. Their popularity is closely linked to the continuously increasing cruise tourism coming to the area, with Ilulissat and its icefjord, which is listed as UNESCO World Heritage site, at the top of most visitors' to-do list. Cruise tourism represents a large share of the total Greenland tourism revenue, and most of the cruise tourists visit the Disco Bay area and the Capital Region (smaller vessels also visit southern and eastern Greenland). This results in the highest numbers of tourist arrivals in the municipality of Avannaata and Qeqertalik counties (see Figures 6 and 7 below). In terms of the number of tourism operators and products, this is the most developed tourism region in Greenland. The Disco Bay area is followed by towns and settlements such as Sisimiut, Maniitsoq, and Kangerlussuaq in the municipality of Qeqqata, and by Kulusuk and Tasiilaq on the

east coast (as part of Sermersooq Municipality, column "Sermersooq East"). In addition, the capital Nuuk (see Figure 6, column "Sermersooq West") receives increasing numbers of tourists (Sermersooq Business Council, n.d.). Depending on their location, tourist destinations offer the "Big Arctic Five," consisting of dogsled trips, whale-watching, meeting locals at a *Kaffemik*, experiencing the Aurora Borealis, and visiting the ice cap.

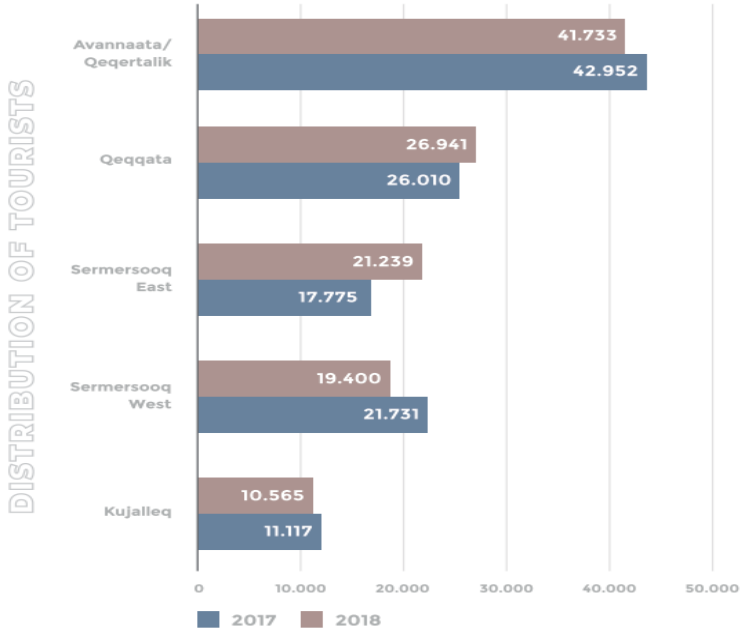

***Figure 6**: Number of international overnight stays in the 5 regions of Greenland 2017-18 (Visit Greenland, 2020)*

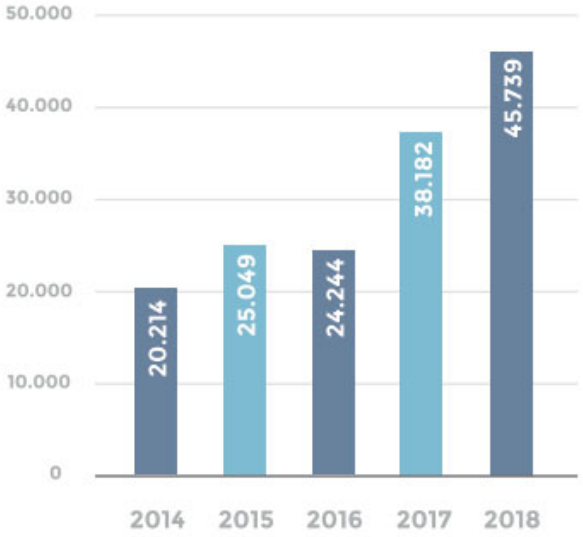

***Figure 7**: Number of cruise passengers (Visit Greenland, 2020)*

In the years to come, tourism actors expect the further development of the tourism palette, especially in terms of higher quality activities and high-end products, such as heli-skiing and very exclusive accommodations (e.g., the luxurious glacier lodge, Eqi, located north of Ilulissat) (Visit Greenland & AirGreenland, 2018). This is expected to further contribute the growth of tourism and increase its share of the national GNP (Ren & Chimirri, 2018b; Visit Greenland & AirGreenland, 2018).

In sum, the role of tourism in Greenland has undoubtedly developed from its beginnings in the 1950s until today, altering the political and public interest and focus on tourism and its development as an economic factor in and for Greenlandic society (Bjørst & Ren, 2015; Ren & Chimirri, 2017, 2018b).

2.2. TOURISM AS ECONOMIC SOURCE FOR THE GREENLANDIC SOCIETY

Irrespective of its more than 50-year history, tourism remains a relatively fledgling economic sector in Greenland (Christensen, 1992; Johnston & Viken, 1997; Kaae, 2002, 2006) compared to more traditional industries, such as fisheries and mining. Nevertheless, there are voices attributing great significance to tourism, despite being an industry of modest size. For example, a report from the consultancy firm

Rambøll, commissioned by Naalakkersuisut, the Government of Greenland, explicitly noted that:

> "Tourism is a promising sector which contains considerable potential for further development towards 2025. The turnover and number of employees in the sector have been rising slowly in recent years in parallel with an increase in the number of guests" (Rambøll, 2014, p. 41).

As mentioned in the introduction to this dissertation, the Committee of Tourism for the Ministry of Greenland underlined the potential of this sector in Greenland already in the early 1970s. In a report from 1973, "Tourism in Greenland," the committee explicitly expressed their belief that, similar to international tourism, Greenland's tourism will increase in the years to come, creating new and promising business opportunities for the country and its residents: "Greenland definitely contains tourist sites that can be exploited to a greater extent than today"[6] (Ministeriet for Grønland, 1973, p. 3) if activities are developed and tourism capacity expanded. Tourism came to be regarded as an important factor contributing to societal development, financially and socially, creating new jobs and revenue in the tourism sector. Based on past, present, and forecasted potential future scenarios, several strategies, reports, initiatives, and debates have granted tourism great significance, underlining the existing potential this sector holds in economic and socio-cultural terms (Instituttet for Fremtidsforskning (IFF), 2013; Kingdom of Denmark, 2011; Naalakkersuisut, 2016; Rambøll, 2014; Visit Greenland, 2020). For example, Naalakkersuisut (2016) credits tourism high potential for growth in its 2016 published tourism strategy:

> "There is a growth potential for tourism in Greenland, both when it comes to land-based and cruise tourism. At the same time, this report highlights how there is potentially a significant socio-economic benefit from a positive tourism development"[7] (Naalakkersuisut, 2016, p. 61).

Through this growth in the tourism industry, it is believed that the increased employment rate and tourism sector revenue will contribute substantially to Greenlandic society in socioeconomic terms.

First and foremost, tourism has been and is still discussed as a tool for economic development. However, conceiving of tourism merely as a contributor to the

[6] Own translation from Danish to English.

[7] Own translation from Danish to English.

national BNP and as a strategic tool for progress and development can also be highly problematic. For instance, doing so reduces and oversimplifies the role tourism can potentially play for societal development (see Steenholdt & Chimirri, 2018). Such simplifying of what tourism is capable of doing and how it can contribute to any society is criticized in strong terms by Higgins-Desbiolles (2006). In an article entitled "More than an "industry": The forgotten power of tourism as a social force," she argues that "tourism is in fact a powerful social force that can achieve many important ends when its capacities are unfettered from the market fundamentalism of neoliberalism and instead are harnessed to meet human development imperatives and the wider public good" (Higgins-Desbiolles, 2006, p. 1192). Apart from oversimplifying the role of tourism, such an approach also builds on the assumption that tourism can be planned and organized and strategically used for predefined purposes (e.g., increasing the national BNP). It presumes a certain homogeneous commonality and directionality of actors and their activities. Actors within tourism, irrespective of whether directly or more indirectly involved, are assumed to share a mutual understanding on where to head and on what to do together in concrete terms (i.e., how to develop tourism). Such an understanding is then believed to inspire collaboration and establish grounds for creating benefits for the individual tourism actors, collaborators, and eventually, directly and indirectly, the Greenlandic society foremost by providing financial means to break away from outside economic support and thus dependencies (Naalakkersuisut, 2016, 2020; Rambøll, 2015).

2.3. FRAGMENTED PICTURE OF TOURISM IN GREENLAND DESPITE POLITICAL PRIORITIZATION AND PUBLIC FOCUS

The previous sections have contextualized the empirical case of tourism in Greenland. The development of tourism from a marginalized, almost neglected sector to a highly promising sector can be traced back to the 1950s and up to the present day. The widespread attention in the political debate and in society in general that is being granted to tourism and the related hopes for the Greenlandic economy themselves have a traceable history. However, as the following quote from the recently published tourism strategy by Naalakkersuisut (2020) shows, the political prioritization and public focus remains focused on certain isolated aspects of the potentials of tourism, such as infrastructure and economic contributions:

> "Globally, the tourism sector is one of the fastest growing industries, with high growth rates. Naalakkersuisut expects the same to happen in Greenland when the new airports are in place by the end of 2023, and we are connecting them well with the existing infrastructure. This requires that we do our work properly so that, together, we can meet the high expectations of the society […]. If we work together, Naalakkersuisut has no doubt that we will fulfill our ambition to develop our country into a

> top-class Arctic tourist nation. This will mean a lot of new jobs—and create an economic development that will make the tourism sector a dominant factor in our economy. A dream we have been working toward for many years"[8] (Naalakkersuisut, 2020, p. 4).

Visit Greenland (2020) supports the claim made by Naalakkersuisut regarding the importance of infrastructure and the expected economic windfalls from tourism after the infrastructural framework of Greenland has been expanded further: "with the construction of the new international landing strips and airports in Ilulissat, Nuuk and the regional runway in Qaqortoq, the foundation has been created for increased tourism in Greenland" (Visit Greenland, 2020, p. 3). However, the DMO also emphasizes that "the benefits do not come by themselves. To make Greenland more accessible to potential and existing markets will also require that we prepare for welcoming our tourists and invest more resources both when it comes to attracting tourists and handling tourism nationally, regionally and locally" (Visit Greenland, 2020, p. 3). Hence, the political prioritization and public focus on infrastructure alone does not necessarily help tourism actors in the field to understand, tackle, and find concrete solutions for how to cope with existing challenging circumstances, such as "how to prepare for welcoming tourists." Because this depends on their concrete circumstances, while tourism actors and scholars are still left with a scarce, fragmented, vague, and blurry understanding of how tourism in Greenland is actually practiced; and, consequently, with how tourism could and should be practiced in order to improve.

This dissertation argues that in the case of tourism development in Greenland, public debate tends to jump to premature conclusions. Before we can discuss how tourism can contribute sustainably to Greenlandic society, we must understand how it works in practice. We need to put the structural and somewhat abstract meta-perspective aside, which considers tourism as a sector contributing in similar ways as do fisheries and mining, and instead turn to the daily practices taking place between tourism actors on the ground. It is their practices that enable and create the tourism landscape in the first place. By sticking to the helicopter perspective and merely considering tourism from above, we, scholars and practitioners, to a certain extent certainly can identify relevant challenges and potentially uncover solutions to counteract them. However, this perspective alone has led to us being left behind with the image of the tourism landscape as a broken mirror, as illustrated in Chapter 1 by Paalu (in Figure 1). The multiple strategy papers, reports, statistics, magazine

[8] Own translation from Danish to English.

articles, and public debates and discussions do not provide answers to what makes actors work together or to what separates them at the same time.

This chapter has introduced the empirical case of this PhD project: the tourism landscape of Greenland. In so doing, it has further grounded and contextualized the research problem leading to the dissertation's argument regarding the need to create an understanding of how tourism works in practice before discussing the future development and potentially sustainable contribution of tourism to Greenlandic society. I now leave the discussion about the Greenland tourism landscape and proceed to introduce the study's methodological approach to researching in, of, and as practice(s) in order to create such an understanding of how tourism is practiced.

CHAPTER 3 – METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

Given the hitherto lack of knowledge regarding how tourism is actually practiced in Greenland, this dissertation and its subordinate publications spotlight concrete emerging practices to explore, analyze, and discuss 1) how collaboration unfolds empirically (Publication 1), and 2) how tourism in Greenland is practiced through these collaborations and represents an integrated part of Greenlandic everyday life (Publication 3). These findings add to creating a direly needed understanding of the tourism landscape in Greenland from within practice; they supplement the theoretical concept of collaboration with empirical substance; and, finally, they open up for a radically different discussion of tourism when looking through a practice-theoretical lens. Accordingly, the focus of this dissertation is on the practical activities taking place on-site among and between practitioners in Greenland. As "phronesis as a research approach interrogates what is happening empirically" and "its contribution is to explore and understand the forces at work" (Dredge, 2011, p. 3), I chose a phronetic methodology as a means to get as close as possible to exploring these emerging practice(s) as they unfold on the ground. Based on Flyvbjerg's (2001) understanding of "phronesis" as an ongoing process and lived practice (which will be elaborated in more detail in the following), choosing a phronetic approach also made it possible for me to not only start my research process in an explorative manner, but also to adapt my research focus and data generation methods iteratively according to what I found, both empirically and theoretically, throughout my concrete explorations and collaborations with tourism practitioners in Greenland.

In the following chapter, I present and discuss my methodological approach to researching in, of, and as practice(s). First, I begin by introducing phronesis as a way of getting close to and understanding practices from within, by collectively engaging with the field. Here, I introduce phronesis as a lens for exploring and understanding emerging practice(s). This first section of the chapter ends by addressing the implications this approach has had for further structuring the research process; in particular for generating and analyzing fieldwork material. In sub-section 3.2, I introduce how I concretely engaged in the field. This section argues that the emerging material has been co-created in the encounter and dialogue between myself as researcher and the research project participants. Grounded in the various ways of engaging with the empirical field and the generated multiple materials, this chapter ends with an introduction to how these different materials were assembled and analyzed in the dissertation and the included publications (see 3.3).

3.1. PHRONESIS: RESEARCHING PRACTICE(S) FROM WITHIN

The overall aim of this research project is to contribute to an understanding of Greenland tourism through the exchange of practical knowledge and daily experiences among and between practitioners, scholars, and local community

members. This is where phronesis comes into play. Based on Aristotle's Nicomachean ethics, the "contemporary interpretation of the classical Greek concept of phronesis has been variously translated as practical wisdom, practical judgement, common sense, or prudence" (Flyvbjerg, 2004, p. 284). Phronetic knowledge emerges from the familiarity with contingencies and uncertainties of any social practice (Flyvbjerg, 2004; Schram, 2012). Flyvbjerg (2001) argues that this form of knowledge creation is the most appropriate for practicing social science research. It serves as eyes and ears in the researcher's "ongoing efforts to understand the present and to deliberate about the future" (Flyvbjerg, 2006, p. 370). As the derived knowledge is based on the practitioners' experiences, it is created in the sphere of existing social priorities and therefore emerges from and necessarily contributes to public debate (Flyvbjerg, 2001). Phronesis is socially and historically conditioned and "is centrally about producing research that has relevance to decisions about what can and should be done, and also how to do it" (Schram, 2012, p. 19).

According to Flyvbjerg (2001), the focus of phronesis on values and interests posits an alternative to both foundationalism and relativism. Foundationalism refers to "the view that central values exist that can be rationally and universally grounded" (Flyvbjerg, 2001, p. 130), and relativism to "the view that one set of values is just as good as another" (ibid.). Both theories of cognizing are rejected by phronetic researchers, as they fail to include a crucial element of phronesis in the picture: contextualism.

When talking about values and interests, the question of power also comes into play and links to that which Dredge refers to as "forces at work" (2011, p. 3). Power relations are considered a crucial element in Flyvbjerg's oeuvre (Flyvbjerg, 2001, 2004, 2005, 2006), even though Aristotle's original conceptualization of phronesis does not include such considerations. This dissertation's analyses do not specifically focus on power relations and their influence on the emergence of practices, even though, from Flyvbjerg's Foucault-inspired point of view, they are all-encompassing. Meanwhile, power relations and their influence on what will be done, on what should be done, on who will do it, and on how it will be done, were more an implicit than an explicit part of the involved research participants' accounts; at least not geared toward specific tourism actors, but rather distributed across practice(s). Due to this ambiguity, and grounded in Flyvbjerg's (2004) methodological argumentation that phronetic research should attempt to understand present and potential ambiguities and subtleties of power at play from within the case study, I deliberately chose not to go into theoretical-analytical depth with the aspect of power, albeit collaboration undoubtedly draws on, negotiates, and seeks to produce new forms of power relations (i.e., forces at work, such as values and interests).

Rather, I was inspired by Flyvbjerg's (2001) account of Aristotle's original concept and its *methodological* implications: phronesis as ongoing process and lived practice, thus breaking away from being bound to any fixed method or concept. Phronetic

research focuses on practical activities and practical knowledge in everyday life situations, and it aims to explore current doings as well as historic circumstances in order to find ways to understand practice (see also Dredge, 2011). Phronetic research is problem-driven as opposed to method-driven. The context in and through which we are moving (and its empirical problems) determine the methods relevant for generating and co-creating context-based knowledge.

The research problem of this dissertation is context-driven in that it explores the empirical problem of collaboration from within. It seeks to study human activities among and between tourism practitioners. These activities are, among others (e.g., materials and competences, see Chapter 6), influenced by the values and interests of the respective practitioners located in the field. In the Shove et al. (2012) framework, values and interests are integrated in the constitutive element of meanings. Here, values and interests influence the formation of practices, potentially establishing collaboration. These collaborations then constitute the tourism landscape (see Chapter 6).

Due to the focus on the human activities of the tourism practitioners, laden with values and interests, action must be seen in its respective situational frame. Phronetic research generates research experiences and knowledge from within the respective context, and its insights are based "on a common view among a specific reference group to which the researchers refer" (Flyvbjerg, 2001, p. 130). The both common and simultaneously contested view on collaboration among tourism practitioners emerges from this reference group's human activities and provides insight into the context, such as the relevant political and public debates, knowledge about the Greenlandic tourism landscape, relevant previous research projects, etc. The emerging activities thus constitute "the context in which phenomena and behaviors take place" (Altinay, Paraskevas, & Jang, 2008, p. 75).

In order to create an understanding of tourism in Greenland in line with a phronetic methodology, it is necessary to focus on these occurring human activities, which are laden with the values and interests of the involved multiple practitioners embedded within different situational settings across the country. These practitioners of the different regions and local communities in Greenland constitute different contextual settings. The generated knowledge and understandings are embedded in the respective situations and local contexts, and they vary from region to region, community to community, and person to person. Irrespectively, it is possible to generate general knowledge out of the specific, context-based knowledges. This is based (as elaborated previously) on Flyvbjerg's (2001) argument that phronesis is neither foundationalist nor relativist, but rather contextualist. In this light, it can be argued that more general knowledge only arises from the fact that each of the specific, context-based knowledges could be regarded as paradigmatic cases within the overall practice case of the Greenlandic tourism landscape. They all contribute to a more general understanding of collaboration as tourism-relevant practice, but

never independent of the context from which they emerged, including the concrete values and interests that were at stake then and there and then (but are arguably still at stake elsewhere).

3.1.1. BECOMING PART OF A FOREIGN CONTEXT: SELF-REFLECTIONS AS RESEARCHER

> "Just as the people studied are part of a context, research itself also constitutes a context, and the researchers are a part of it. The researchers' self-understanding and concepts do not exist in a vacuum, but must be understood in relation to this context" (Flyvbjerg, 2001, p. 33).

The phronetic research approach demands that the researcher constantly remains critical of their own position and open-minded toward alternative understandings, both theoretically and empirically. Staying critical and open-minded as a researcher implies, on the one hand, awareness of the fact that we all carry a priori assumptions into the field. On the other hand, we might also need to reflect on and renegotiate assumptions that regard our own position as researcher and human being; for instance, in relation to our assumed origin.

In the case of Greenland, post-colonial issues play an important role when considering any political, social, and cultural aspect. The difficult historical and contemporary relations between Denmark and Greenland undoubtedly affect any research activity carried out in Greenland, especially when coming from a colonial context. I acknowledge being a foreign researcher whose project is financed by private and public Danish funds, and who draws "on a Western academic system of thought" (Hansen & Ren, 2020, p. 4). Nevertheless, I decided not to go into detail with post-colonialist theorizing about the relations between Greenland and Denmark in this research project and dissertation. Instead, in line with the phronetic approach and my own engagement in this Arctic destination, I self-critically reflect in the following paragraph on my own position as a German researcher working in Danish academia, and on how this, alongside my values and interests, had implications for the overall project. These reflections are based on aggregated personal experiences in the field made throughout the entire three-year research period.

In particular, I often found my personal background to be advantageous when talking to practitioners and local community members across Greenland. Despite living and working in Denmark, my German origins, next to my very limited language proficiency in Danish, have definitely been helpful factors while undertaking my fieldwork. I have been asked about my origins in almost every interview or conversation on the street. Being neither Danish nor Greenlandic, I was mostly positioned as uninvolved in the reproduction of the difficult post-colonial and ethno-

cultural tensions between these two countries. In the rare occasions in which I experienced initial skepticism or distrust toward myself as a foreign researcher employed by a Danish university, I found the atmosphere to brighten noticeably once mentioning my personal background. More than a few times, the research participants started associating positive memories with Germany, including personal encounters with German tourists or researchers.

Following a phronetic research approach also demands of any researcher to constantly remain critical and open-minded in terms of the alternative understandings encountered on the ground, both theoretically and empirically. As mentioned in the introduction, when starting on this research project, I initially agreed with the widespread notion in academia that collaboration merely acts as positive tool, readily implementable and useable for the benefit of Greenland's tourism landscape and its practitioners. While engaging with the field, however—experiencing and inquiring into the practitioners' concrete activities and practical knowledges in everyday life situations across the different visited regions in Greenland—I gradually learned how a more differentiated and critical reading of collaboration would become necessary. In line with the processual phronetic methodology, the initial theoretical and preliminary empirical knowledge and understanding of collaboration had to change on the basis of the newly generated knowledge. I had started the research process by sculpting an understanding of collaboration on theoretical grounds and inspired by empirical findings from a previous research project (see Ren & Chimirri, 2017). But the project's processual methodology then required the further development of theoretical considerations and concepts while getting informed by my engagement in contextual practice. With this in mind and inspired by the findings and insights of the first fieldwork in connection with the PhD project, social practice theory was introduced as an additional theoretical perspective helping to shed new light on the concept of collaboration and its relevance for exploring tourism practices (see Chapter 5). With the help of this theoretical lens, I became able to investigate the concrete emergence of practices crucial to forming any kind of collaboration.

3.1.2. PHRONETIC RESEARCH: A CONTINUOUS AND SITUATED PROCESS

Given that phronesis focuses on practical knowledge, rather than on generating new scientific knowledge (as *episteme*) or merely applying technical knowledge and skills (as *techne*) (Flyvbjerg, 2004), phronesis is "based on interpretations and is open for testing in relation to other interpretations" (Flyvbjerg, 2005, p. 41). On the one hand, as Flyvbjerg (2006) highlights, this is due to the fact that no one ever possesses enough wisdom, experience, and/or knowledge to give complete and all-embracing answers to a problem. On the other hand, phronetic research never takes place on neutral ground, given how human activities are the base of this type of research. As

human activities are grounded in values and interests, they do not take place on neutral ground and are always subjective in nature. This understanding of knowledge as situated collective activity also resembles the one promoted by Donna Haraway (2016) (who plays a central role in the analyses of an accepted work-in-progress publication of Ren and Chimirri, see 7.3.): "we require each other in unexpected collaborations and combinations […] Alone, in our separate kinds of expertise and experiences, we know both too much and too little" (2016, p. 4). Similarly, Flyvbjerg (2005) argues for the multiplicity of perspectives and interpretations, as "the more eyes, different eyes, we can use to observe one thing, the more complete will our 'concept' of this thing, our 'objectivity',[9] be" (2005, p. 41).

In a nutshell, phronetic research is a dialogical process, which actively involves diverse perspectives and voices that continuously feed into the ongoing revision of interpretations, and herewith, of the research problem. Relevant practical knowledge is created through the continuous communication between research results and feedback from involved practitioners in the tourism field, from fellow scholars and interested community members in Greenland (see here also 3.2.). As framed by Aristotle, continuous and reciprocal communication between researcher, practitioners, and community members is essential to become familiar with the contingencies and uncertainties of the particular case (Flyvbjerg, 2004; Schram, 2012). Such an approach establishes the foundation for clarifying practices as well as intervening in them, sometimes even opening up for and generating new perspectives.

Fundamentally, then, phronesis does not aim to generate new universal theories. There is no final claim to finding and determining the best interpretation. Nehamas (1985) emphasized that "the key point is the establishment of a *better* option" (in Flyvbjerg, 2004, p. 292). "Better" is defined here by the involved actors accepting or rejecting the respectively derived option. Phronetic research is therefore always a continuous and ongoing process, not aiming at finding "the right answer" to the research problem. As Flyvbjerg (2005) formulates it, it is more a process to "produce food for thought for the ongoing process of public deliberation, participation, and decision making" (2005, p. 39), potentially unfolding possible new paths for practice. Haraway (2018) similarly formulates it by underlining the need to stay with the trouble by constantly abstaining from absolutes.

[9] Here, "objectivity" does not refer to a so-called "contemplation without interest" (Flyvbjerg, 2005, p. 41) instead, it embraces the involvement of a variety of perspectives and interpretations in the service of deriving new knowledge and creating novel understandings.

This argument is reflected in Chapter 7, where the dissertation "ends" by suggesting the initiation of further discussions on how to talk about and re-think tourism in Greenland, collaboration theory, practice theory, and tourism studies in general. In particular, as inspired by the phronetic research approach and in connection with the work of Haraway (2016), this dissertation argues that we must "stay with the trouble" of the entangled ontological complexity of tourism. It becomes necessary to avoid the binary narratives of praising or dooming tourism by turning away from finding "the right fix" for tourism and instead embracing its troublesome nature. This line of argumentation opens up for further ongoing discussion rather than searching for conclusive answers.

To sum up its epistemic ambition, phronesis "is concentrated on producing research that helps make a difference in people's lives by focusing on what it would take to make that difference on the issues that matter to them most and which most crucially affect them" (Schram, 2012, p. 20). Greenland tourism represents such an issue that matters to people; it is increasingly discussed and proclaimed as significant and important for the Greenlandic economy and society in general. However, even though tourism is heavily debated in Greenland (see Chapters 1 and 2), it has been much less intensively researched. There is an apparent lack of knowledge and understanding of how tourism is practiced on the ground in Greenland in concrete terms. How can we, scholars, practitioners, and community members, contribute to discussing tourism without having any initial understanding of how it is actually practiced?

In order to provide this initial understanding, this dissertation implements a phronetic methodology that inquires into practical activities and knowledge from the everyday life situations of Greenland tourism practitioners. In this way, *together with these practitioners*, I aim to explore their current practices regarding how they are embedded in past circumstances and influenced by deliberations about the future in order to find ways to understand practice(s) as constitutive of the current tourism landscape. And as already insinuated several times, this requires transforming my inquiry into a collective inquiry.

3.2. LEARNING AND GETTING TO KNOW TOGETHER WITH OTHERS: A COLLECTIVE APPROACH IN, THROUGH AND OF PRACTICE(S)

In her book *Methodological Thinking: Basic Principles of Social Research Design*, Loseke (2013) argues that research methods should be understood as ways of thinking with each other. A similar view is supported by Ren et al. (2018), who state that "in some sense it is obvious that research, at least in the social sciences, is 'done together with others': subjects, communities, users or participants and co-workers" (2018, p. 1).

My own research approach is grounded in the belief that collaboration does not merely sum up the focus of my research work, but also how I am aiming to go about when doing research (Chimirri, 2020b). In agreement with Pain and Francis (2003), I argue that research must turn toward more collaborative approaches that generate "bottom-up knowledge which is produced in a rigorous ethically acceptable way—in other words, to have real impacts for those we study beyond academic articles and conference papers" (Pain & Francis, 2003, p. 47). A collective approach that has relevance for practice is also expected of many participants in the field, as explicitly mentioned by a practitioner I interviewed prior to this project: "Working together, we can find ways to do things differently, better, to make things happen" (see Ren & Chimirri, 2017). This also ties into phronesis as a research approach. Phronetic researcher conduct research that seeks to contribute to making a difference in people's lives by focusing on what matters to and troubles them, but also on what they attempt to change by being aware of the embedded power relations distributed across practice(s).

On these grounds, studying tourism collaboration in Greenland entails following a collaborative, situated approach to research that mutually engages with practitioners, scholars, and community members to co-create practically relevant knowledge and understandings of the research field.

3.2.1. WAYS OF ENGAGING AND LEARNING WITH THE FIELD

Even though the term collaboration is used extensively nowadays, there is a lack of analytical tools for grasping its emergence. The apparent consensual understanding of the relevance of collaboration between and across public/private and nonprofit/profit sectors seems grounded in its potential to answer to "the need to manage differences" (Gray, 1989, p. 1). As described in greater detail in Chapter 4, however, the concept incorporates and carries very different and diverse meanings, depending on the context in which it is used (e.g., Morris & Miller-Stevens, 2016a, 2016b). It is therefore necessary to work methodologically in ways that enable us to explore in situ what happens empirically; that is, to mutually move toward a theoretically less distant, instead more concretely and practically relevant understanding of collaboration, to finally better grasp how tourism in Greenland is practiced through collaboration.

Over a period of more than three years, I have travelled and engaged in and with Greenland in different ways. In the following sub-sections (3.2.1.1 – 3.2.1.4), I introduce the different concrete research methods enacted to learn with others and to co-create the empirical material upon which this dissertation is based. The ways of engagement range from conducting interviews, co-creating life maps with practitioners in the field, participating in both academic and practice-oriented conferences, seminars, and workshops, to creating awareness for and reaching out

to scholars, practitioners, and community members in and outside Greenland, through the already mentioned communication activities, as well as through press releases and a personal homepage.

As initially mentioned, I visited Greenland during four fieldwork trips to western, southern, and eastern Greenland between April 2018 and July 2019. During these stays, I travelled to the towns and settlements of Sisimiut, Kangerlussuaq, Nuuk, Maniitsoq, Qaqortoq, Narsarsuaq, Nanortalik, Kulusuk, and Tasiilaq (see Figure 8).

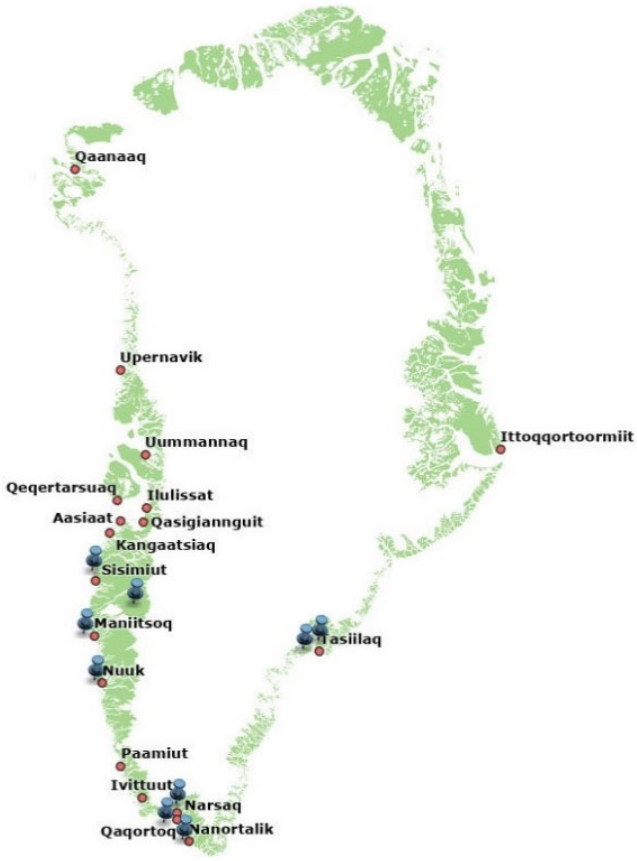

***Figure 8**: Map of Greenland with marked places of fieldwork stays (adapted from ASIAQ Greenland Survey, 2020)*

3.2.1.1. Interviews

The present research material includes 41 semi-structured interviews with 44 research participants in total (see Appendix B, p. 109-112).

I agree with Kesby (2000), who asserted that using the term

> "'participant' (rather than 'informant' or 'respondent'), is significant […] and signals a particular epistemology: first, participants […] are regarded as 'knowers' and their knowledges and experiences are valorized. Second, researchers temper their own 'expert' status, and while not dismissing their own specialist skills, do not presume to have a superior perspective. Third, the agency of participants is recognized and encouraged (participants are encouraged to recognize their own agency) and researchers and participants enter into a reciprocal relationship in the research process" (2000, pp. 224–225).

I therefore use the term "research participant," instead of interviewee, to underline that the involved practitioners in this research project are indispensable knowledge actors, without whom the generation of this dissertation would have been impossible. In the spirit of phronetic research, all of the knowledge presented here is grounded in the exchange of practical knowledge and experiences among and across practitioners, other community members, and me, the researcher.

The interviews lasted between 30–90 minutes and were audio-recorded upon obtaining verbal consent to do so. The interviews were conducted in English or Danish, depending on the language in which the interviewee felt most comfortable. The recorded interviews were all transcribed in full length. To comply with existing GDPR regulations, the names of the research participants have been changed to anonymize their identities. The overview of interviews (see Appendix B, p. 109-112) only presents pseudonyms, which are used throughout the dissertation. The decision to use pseudonyms instead of marking the participants "Research Participant 1, 2, 3" or "Workshop Participant" (as in the publications) was taken to emphasize the personal contact and collaborative nature of the research project, as well as to make the individual research participants more recognizable for the reader throughout the reading of this dissertation. When interviews were conducted in Danish, the transcript was directly translated into English. This was done to be able to access the material more easily in the analysis process independent of the original language.

An interview guide was used for orientation purposes of conducting the semi-structured interviews (see Appendix A, p. 107). However, no interview followed the same pre-set order of questions, as it was adapted to the conversational flow and research participant's respective foci and interests. The overall topics of the interviews included descriptions of day-to-day practices, challenges, and opportunities to operate in tourism, the participants' collaborations with others, and their hopes and wishes for the future development of tourism in Greenland.

The recruitment process of approaching and choosing the research participants was rather pragmatic in that it was based on a convenience sampling. Most of the

practitioners living and working in the visited areas were directly approached via email and asked if they wanted to collaborate and thereby contribute to my PhD project by sharing their experiences and knowledge in a meeting. Moreover, two press releases were prepared by a co-worker (with whom I travelled on two occasions) to make our fieldwork stays in the respective areas public and to motivate potential participants to contact us (see 2.3.1.4 for more detail). The decisive criterion for choosing participants was ultimately their connection to, interest in, and/or their occupation in, the tourism field. While this might seem rather unsystematic, this sampling approach enabled the project to obtain insights from a relatively wide range of interested practitioners (see Appendix B, p. 109-112). Small and individual tourism actors, such as incoming tour operators, cultural institutions, service providers, as well as representatives of governmental bodies/public institutions, were hereby reached and motivated to take part in the research project.

A diagramming exercise was carried out in connection with the interviews, and this visualization will be introduced in greater detail in the following section.

3.2.1.2. "Life mapping"

The life mapping method was applied to collectively explore the practitioners' collaborations with others in a different modality. As Publication 2 (see Appendix D, p. 139-161) deals in detail with this method, the following section focuses on what is new in using this method in the given context, underlining the contribution of this dissertation's use of this method in the empirical investigation of collaboration, including a discussion of its potential limitations.

> "Everyday tourist practices […] are often so subtle, momentary and ordinary, yet form a significant part of a tourist's daily routine. They demand a considerable amount of time, attention and practiced negotiation, but can be difficult for tourists to articulate and reflect on and for researchers to document" (Barry, 2017, p. 328).

Barry's (2017) citation above emphasizes the challenges of articulating and documenting everyday practices (in this case, from the perspective of the tourist), and reflects my considerations and concerns with respect to how to represent collaboration in my understanding of a fundamental aspect of everyday life. From the outset of this research project, I knew that I needed to find alternative ways to engage in and capture collaboration as an everyday life practice. Even though I was aware of this challenge, I did not know early on how to approach it best.

While researching visual research methods and discussing them with a colleague, I became aware of Anja Marschall's work (2013, 2017), who uses life mapping as a means to explore children's perspectives on their daily lives. The empirical challenges Marschall experienced when working with children were in some ways

familiar with some of the challenges I experienced, in that (arguably like every other human being), they have difficulties articulating the practices of their own daily lives. This certainly also applies when trying to explore collaboration and to understand of how tourism is practiced in Greenland. In my empirical case, life mapping also came to offer additional "navigational tools than the spoken language" (Marschall, 2013, p. 8).

"Life mapping" is a dialogical method for co-constructing and co-creating data via a participatory diagramming approach (Kesby, 2000; Kesby, Kindon, & Pain, 2005; Literat, 2013; Pain & Francis, 2003). It places "the emphasis on participants producing inclusive accounts using their own words and frameworks of understanding, via a range of exercises such as mapping, timelines, cartoons, matrices and pie charts" (Pain & Francis, 2003, p. 46). As Literat (2013) has written,

> "through the process of visual conceptualization, and the reflective discussion of these images in the context of their production, participants are given an expressive channel to voice their inner stories, as well as an active and empowering stake in the research study" (2013, p. 12).

Based on this view of life mapping as an inherently participatory approach to research, I decided to experiment with it during the project's first fieldwork period in the spring of 2018. It proved very productive for the project's collaborative ends and led to the decision to include this method in all of the subsequent fieldwork trips to Greenland.

In order to further explain why this method has proven beneficial for the research project at hand, I briefly touch on two different vignettes, aggregated from my fieldwork notes, from the first fieldwork trip in spring 2018. These instances empirically illustrate how helpful this method was, both for me and the practitioner, in very different circumstances.

Qaqortoq, South Greenland, 12 April 2018:

> I was on my way to my very first interview appointment at a cultural institution. Even though I had already met Aviaja (institution leader) two days before at a workshop, I was still nervous about how the interview would go. When I arrived, she greeted me kindly and, after showing me around the institution, we sat down in her office. Our conversation started with me asking if she preferred to speak in Danish or English. Aviaja initially hesitated, finally responding that she wanted me to decide. As we had been speaking in Danish during the workshop in the previous days, I assumed that it might be easier for her to talk in Danish. So we started our conversation with talking about her job, the tasks she carried out, and her responsibilities. We were laughing a lot, as she shared many

> personal and funny anecdotes. Our conversation was relaxed and easy-going, up to the point when I asked her to describe her relations and collaborations with others. At this point, I felt that something changed. Our conversation almost came to a standstill. First, I could tell I had troubles clearly and understandably formulating my questions in Danish. But she had troubles formulating her answers as well. There was a point where we looked at each other, both shrugged. That was when I decided that it might be the right moment to suggest the drawing exercise. She looked shortly at me, grabbed a couple of pens and immediately started drawing, filling the entire piece of paper in front of her within only a few minutes.

This experience demonstrates how the language barrier we both experienced rendered an ongoing conversation and discussion about collaboration difficult or even impossible. But once Aviaja started to draw, she seemed so engaged in what she was doing that she was not paying much attention anymore to what and how she was formulating things (before that, she constantly apologized for her "bad Danish"). I also felt more relaxed, paying more attention to her drawing than to my own Danish skills. As mentioned previously (see 3.1.1), my Danish language proficiency made it difficult to express myself and discuss in the same way as I would be able to do in German or English. Mapping became a way to mitigate the dependence on linguistic proficiency—for both sides. In addition to keeping the interview going, this also helped to reestablish a more relaxed atmosphere.

Another vignette shows how the mapping exercise revealed unarticulated details.

Nanortalik, South Greenland, 14 April 2018:

> I'm sitting in the office of Nuka, manager and owner of an incoming agency, and I'm asking him to describe his collaborations and how he works with others in the area. His prompt and clear answer: "Well, that will be very short. There are no collaborations." I'm rather surprised, while pondering about how his business as incoming agency works if not collaborating with anyone. So I took out a piece of paper, inviting him to draw how he works. He looked at me, first a bit puzzled, but started drawing lines on the paper in front of him. After a while, I asked him to explain his drawings. He pointed to the names on the paper and explained what services he bought from whom, how they kept in touch, and how long they had been working together. Looking at his drawing, I commented: You have a lot of collaborations, or not? He looked at me, and then at his drawing, finally exclaiming with no small amount of surprise, "Yes, you can actually say that!"

Through the mapping exercise, Nuka realized that even though he did not think of the business relations he had with others as collaboration, he came to change his mind. At the end of the interview, he actually stated his surprise at seeing how many connections to others he actually has.

Both instances underline how the life mapping process helps in different ways with articulating collaboration in the concrete interaction with research participants and how tourism studies could benefit from such a method in terms of empirically exploring the daily practices of practitioners in the field. Additionally, when considering the interviewing method alone, interviews often tend to follow a schematic interview guide with a more or less pre-set structure and understanding of the phenomenon (of course to different extents, depending on the respective approach). The life maps, meanwhile, show how differently every single practitioner thinks about collaboration. In drawing more freely, the practitioners could express their various takes on collaboration, resulting in very different life maps, ranging from, e.g., hierarchical-looking diagrams to metaphors in the shape of objects, plants, and mythical creatures (see Figure 9).

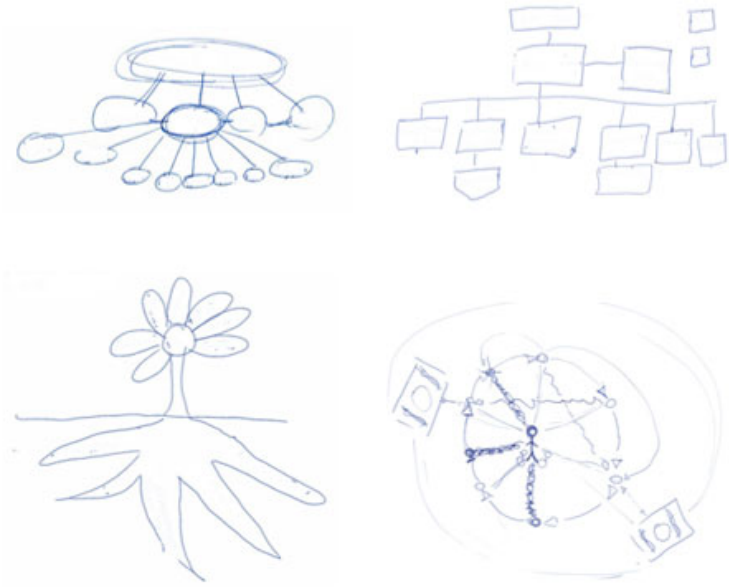

***Figure 9**: Examples of life maps, created by practitioners during interviews between April 2018 - July 2019 (own data material)*

Irrespectively, conventional interviews were also important for the research participants to attempt to articulate what they do and how they do it. The life mapping method supplemented it. It adds to the verbal material and offers

possibilities to overcome challenges of expressing oneself verbally or to uncover aspects that might otherwise have been "overlooked" in speech.

Like any other method, life mapping also has its limitations. First, asking practitioners to draw on a blank piece of paper can create a sense of unease for some participants. Not everyone is comfortable with being confronted by a blank piece of paper and asked to be "creative." Some of the practitioners asked for more detailed instructions about how and what to draw. I had to be careful in terms of how many instructions to give, aiming to keep the process as open as possible. Some practitioners most likely regarded this exercise as useless, considering their reaction to the task. Irrespective of this, everyone drew a life map and became engaged in a different, concentrated manner once they started to draw.

Another limitation of the life mapping method is how the drawn life maps are entangled in bias and subject to different interpretations by the practitioners themselves and the researcher. However, biases in the life mapping process (and arguably even more so in the context of a phronetic methodology) are regarded as analytically productive rather than disruptive. After all, "phronetic social scientists are highly aware of the importance of perspective, and see no neutral ground" (Flyvbjerg, 2005, p. 40). Bias is unavoidable, so rather use different means or modalities to make it as transparent as possible in the dialogical researcher–participant collaboration.

Apart from the potential drawbacks and challenges associated with the diagramming process, I argue that life mapping, in combination with the interviews, offered a more in-depth and detailed way to explore collaboration, as it enables and enacts tourism practices that I would not otherwise have been able to generate with a mono-modal scientific method alone. In addition, however, the following (more informal) ways of engaging in and with Greenland and its tourism landscape surely also significantly contributed to giving my empirical engagement more practical, everyday relevance.

3.2.1.3. Conferences, seminars and workshops

My participation in multiple academic and practically oriented conferences, seminars, and workshops on the Arctic (e.g., UArctic 2018, Polar Researchers' Day 2018), on Arctic tourism (International Polar Tourism Research Network conference 2018), and on Greenland's future (e.g., Future Greenland 2017, The SDG's in *The Arctic: Local and Global Perspectives* organized and held by the Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Towards More Tourism 2018, Greenland Conference 2018) made it possible to connect and discuss with other scholars and practitioners from the field. It also enabled me to present my ongoing work, receive critical feedback, and thus develop new ideas and thoughts in collaboration. From a phronetic perspective, these activities are important in further forming the research focus, even though

they were mainly addressing a rather specific crowd of people, such as Arctic and/or tourism researchers, practitioners in Greenland working in diverse fields (e.g., as in the case of the Greenland conference organized by the Danish Industry). With press releases and my own homepage I also aimed to contact and connect more broadly with as many interested practitioners and community members in Greenland as possible, thereby broadening a potential interested audience.

3.2.1.4. Press releases and internet page

The press releases (see Figure 10) were initiated and handled by Naja Carina Steenholdt Frederiksen, my fellow colleague, collaborator, and fieldwork companion on two occasions (see also Steenholdt & Chimirri, 2018).

Forskerstuderende søger interviewpersoner i Sydgrønland

5. April 2018 · 09:09 by Karsten Sommer

To forskerstuderende, Daniela Chimirri og Naja Carina Steenholdt fra Ilisimatusarfik og Aalborg Universitet, skal i perioden mellem den 9. til den 19. april på feltarbejde i Sydgrønland.

De søger derfor folk, der vil lade sig interviewe om henholdsvis turismeudvikling samt livskvalitet og trivsel.

På deres tur skal de besøge Qaqortoq, Narsarsuaq og Nanortalik, og håber dér at finde interesserede, som ønsker at deltage i interviews om deres projekter.

Daniela Chimirri forsker i turisme og samarbejde. Her vil hun undersøge hvordan turismen i Grønland kan udvikles, med fokus på det samfundsmæssige aspekt. Derfor skal der projektet involvere så mange turismeaktører som muligt, der har kendskab til eller har en mening om turisme-området.

Naja Carina Steenholdt forsker i livskvalitet og trivsel i Grønland. Her undersøger hun hvilke livsværdier den grønlandske befolkning har og hvad grønlænderne mener giver et godt liv. Hun søger derfor interesserede personer mellem 18 og 40 år, som ønsker at stille op til interview.

Herunder finder du datoer for hvornår de to studerende er i de tre byer, og hvordan man kan kontakte dem.

Qaqortoq 9.-13. april 2018
Nanortalik 13.-16. april 2018
Narsarsuaq 16.-19. april 2018

Daniela Chimirri og Naja Carina Steenholdt kan kontaktes på Facebook på facebook.com/DaniChimirri eller facebook.com/najacarinasteenholdt

Interviewpersoner efterlyses i Østgrønland

ARNANUT

Figure 10: Press releases, call for interview partners in South & East Greenland (Sermitsiaq, 2019; Sommer, 2018)

These press releases were intended to make our fieldwork stays public and aimed to invite people to be part of our research projects. As we were both doing separate research projects, the press releases briefly introduced our respective research areas and asked for interested research participants to contact us (Sermitsiaq, 2019; Sommer, 2018).

Apart from the press releases, I started a homepage entitled “Stories from Greenland: My travels through the PhD” (Chimirri, n.d.). It was initially created to reach out to interested parties, in Greenland and abroad, to share experiences and to facilitate exchanges with others. I considered this to be an ideal way to stay

connected with the research participants, and to establish new networks with potential practitioners. As I have not actively received any feedback on the homepage itself, it is not possible to evaluate if this way of reaching out has been the most relevant for those I sought to address. Nevertheless, the homepage has been of relevance to my own writing and thinking process, functioning as a personal diary and empirical research notebook. It contains reflections on the different fieldwork stays, written in a more personal manner. This was valuable for critical reflection on my own prejudices and ethical concerns, such as on the topic of seal hunting.

All of these different ways of engaging contributed to the creation of an understanding of tourism in Greenland, and at the same time attempted to minimize the shortcomings of any single method alone.

3.3. ANALYZING WRITTEN, VERBAL AND VISUAL MATERIAL

The variety of ways of engaging with the empirical field generated multiple materials and data points. By bringing these materials and data points together, I was able to assemble my research account and analyze how tourism is enacted through collaborations formed through practices.

As introduced in greater detail in the analysis chapter (see Chapter 6), this dissertation focuses on the exploration and analysis of how collaboration unfolds on the ground among and between practitioners (6.1) and how tourism is practiced in Greenland through these collaborations (6.2). The focus is empirically and analytically on concretely embodied doings in the form of practices, rather than on hypothetical thinking; that is, publicly expressed probabilities of and defined strategies for how tourism development could, should, or will take place in Greenland, as well as on present material aspects, rather than symbolic rhetoric, such as the ongoing political and public debates regarding tourism. This means that the policy papers, strategies, etc. in the project in hand function as a backdrop against which to inform about the context but do not represent analytical materials unto themselves. Rather, the project findings offer empirically based insights into how tourism is concretely practiced through practitioner collaborations in Greenland.

The qualitative content analysis as a method “of analysing written, verbal or visual communication messages” (Cole, 1988, cited in Elo & Kyngäs, 2008: 107) is the basis for all of the analyses presented in the single publications and the analysis in Chapter 5 in this dissertation. In this case, Cole’s “messages” refer to the interviews and life maps generated together with the research participants. In general, as inspired by Neuman (1997), the analysis was conducted in terms of “search[ing] for patterns in data” (p. 426, in Kohlbacher, 2006, p. 9). Independent of the concrete material basis of the empirical data and the continuously adapted research focus, which clearly

diverges across the individual publications comprising this dissertation, the analyses all seek to search for more general patterns by applying different frames.

This implies that each of the individual publications comprising this dissertation (i.e., Publications 1, 2, and 3) present different analytical research questions and focal points. Still, they all contribute differently to studying and building a more general picture of tourism in Greenland. Given that the phronetic approach is problem- and not method-driven, the varying aspects of the overall problem under investigation in this dissertation, as well as the differently weighted data bases in the individual publications, determined the choice of the necessary analytical tool. While each publication thus presents its own analytical approach, in the context of this dissertation, it is re-embedded into the overall research question, with their specific findings contributing in different ways to the whole of the dissertation.

Even though the publications differ from each other regarding their analytical tools, they share in common that their respective material bases were first analyzed on the grounds of a qualitative content analysis method (Elo & Kyngäs, 2008). The individual analyses of the separate publications add to an ongoing analytical process, continuously driving forward the project's data and practical knowledge generation. I consider the varying analytical findings of the publications as momentary bits of communication in my overall research. These empirical and theoretical findings continuously speak to me as researcher, and they are shared with involved practitioners in the tourism field, fellow scholars, and interested community members in Greenland in an ongoing manner. The different analyses feed into, for example, later interviews, conference papers, and website entries. Their findings (as items of communication) therefore generate continuous dialogue and discussion about the research problem, the research process, and the emerging findings. A phronetic dialogical process of this nature is crucial in order to become, as previously mentioned, familiar with contingencies and uncertainties of the particular case (Flyvbjerg, 2004; Schram, 2012). This helps me as researcher to explore, understand, and clarify the ambiguities and ambivalences of practices as well as to open up and generate new perspectives (this is further discussed in the conclusion of this dissertation; see Chapter 7).

To summarize this chapter on the methodological approach of the research project: I first introduced the phronetic approach as the overarching methodological frame, then more concretely how I engaged with the field, how the fieldwork material has been co-created among and between the research participants and myself, and how these materials were analyzed in the writing process for this dissertation and the individual publications included herein. Based on Flyvbjerg's (2001) notion of phronesis as an ongoing process and lived practice, the phronetic approach enabled me as researcher not only to start my research process in an explorative manner, studying collaborations in the tourism landscape in Greenland; it also provided the

freedom (and obligation) to adapt my research focus and the necessary data-generation methods according to what I found empirically in lived practice.

On the basis of this methodological grounding in the phronetic research approach, Chapter 4 first introduces the concept of collaboration, before turning to practice theory in Chapter 5. I have chosen to do so in order to delineate the theoretical presumptions regarding collaboration in tourism with which I initially went into the field (see Chapter 1). Based on the empirical findings of the first and following fieldwork trips, I gradually discovered that I required a more fundamental theoretical take on collaboration to be able to situate the collaboration concept in what tourism practitioners actually did and do on the ground.

CHAPTER 4 – CONCEPTUALIZING COLLABORATION THEORY

This chapter sketches the theoretical understanding of "collaboration" that I initially read up on before engaging with the project fieldwork. As already mentioned above, this understanding was quickly challenged once I started investigating how tourism practitioners carry out collaboration as part of the everyday lives. Irrespectively, the initial understanding of collaboration set an important first frame for all subsequent research processes, and it holds analytical potential for specifying the possibilities and limitations of a practice-based approach to collaboration, as will be presented in the subsequent chapters.

The chapter starts by introducing the collaboration concept in general (4.1) and its readings and usage in tourism research (4.2). It then proceeds to a more critical reading of the concept in tourism (4.2.2). This sub-section highlights how, despite a continuously diversifying body of literature on collaboration in tourism (Morris & Miller-Stevens, 2016a), many tourism scholars tend to primarily appraise collaboration as a pivotal tool for tourism planning and development. Inspired by my own empirical material together with the calls made by Hall (1999) and Liburd (2018) for a critical approach to collaboration, I argue in section 4.3 that the study of collaboration in tourism would positively benefit from being approached through a practice-oriented take. The focus could then lie on how collaboration is carried out or practiced, rather than seeing collaboration first and foremost as a useful instrument in strategic and managerial terms.

4.1. THE COLLABORATION CONCEPT

In 1985, Gray published an article entitled "Conditions Facilitating Interorganizational Collaboration" in which she argued that the interdependencies of various stakeholders involved in any process call for organizing collaborative efforts rather than focusing on single actions (Gray, 1985). Her seminal work, "Collaborating: Finding common ground for multiparty problems" (1989), followed up on her 1985 article and triggered a flood of research dealing with the collaboration concept. Even though grounded in inter-organizational theory, Gray's conceptualization (Gray, 1985, 1989; Gray & Wood, 1991; Wood & Gray, 1991) formed the base for academic publications from across various disciplines and fields. The following is one of her most condensed formulations:

> "Collaboration is a process through which parties who see different aspects of a problem can constructively explore their differences and search for solutions that go beyond their own limited vision of what is possible […] Collaboration involves building a common understanding,

> [which] forms the basis for choosing a collective course of action" (Gray, 1989, p. 5).

Similar conceptualizations of "collaboration" have attained considerable popularity and are extensively used nowadays. However, inter-disciplinary discussions also underline how collaboration is a complex concept. The phenomenon it seeks to capture theoretically, the collaborative process, is multifaceted, and no single theoretical framework can therefore fully grasp it (Chimirri, 2020a). Consequently, scholars felt invited to apply it broadly to very different problems in a variety of fields. The resulting abundance of very different understandings and applications of collaboration have led to conceptual obscurity, even coming to hide controversies around the concept (Arnaboldi & Spiller, 2011). As Morris and Miller-Stevens (2016a) argue, the rapidly emerging scholarship on collaboration "diverges into several directions, resulting in confusion about what collaboration is and what it can be used to accomplish" (2016a, p. iii). The only apparent consensus between and across the public and private actors in the nonprofit and profit sectors seems to be solely grounded in Gray's (1989) argument regarding "the need to manage differences" (1989, p. 1).

Hence, the existing literature that deals with the collaboration concept shows a wide variety of definitions on what this concept entails, depending on the disciplines and viewpoints from which we look. All definitions, however different and elusive they may be, subscribe to the widely acknowledged notion that the majority of human affairs, issues, and challenges cannot be unilaterally dealt with by a single actor, organization, or institution.

Meanwhile, most conceptualization efforts appear to be mainly concerned with the development of typologies, definitions, usages, and the deconstruction and development of the concept itself, while broadly neglecting to provide empirical evidence for these (Xin, Tribe, & Chambers, 2013). The multitude of conceptual frameworks, typologies, definitions, and terminologies of "collaboration" resulted in an interchangeable usage of not only the term "collaboration;" notions such as "cooperation," "coordination," "networking," "alliances," and "partnerships" are also used interchangeably to denote roughly the same phenomenon. It is therefore hardly surprising that all of these notions, including "collaboration," are regarded as widely interchangeable by most practitioners—in line with many scholars. Consequently, the term collaboration is elusive, and its overuse "has become a catchall to signify just about any type of inter-organizational or inter-personal relationship, making it difficult for those seeking to collaborate to put into practice or evaluate with certainty" (Gajda, 2004, p. 66). Morris and Miller-Stevens' (2016a) definition of "collaboration" exemplifies such a broad and relatively fuzzy framing of the term:

> "Distilled to its essence, collaboration is necessarily a group activity involving two or more people. Collaboration is an interaction that takes place between people, or organizations, or both, in a wide range of settings" (Morris & Miller-Stevens, 2016a, p. 7).

Liburd (2018) defines collaboration as taking place "when two or more parties join forces to achieve a shared objective, whether the parties are individuals, groups, business, institutions or nations" (2018, p. 9). Thus, "collaboration" represents a "fundamental aspect of human society and part of our basic paradigm and value systems" (Williams, 2016, p. 14) that underpins specific notions of human progress.

In summary, then, current debates offer an abundance of very different understandings and applications of collaboration, and the ensuing conceptual obscurity challenges Gray's original hopes for the concept: Gray's (see Gray, 1989, p. 5 ff.) foundational conceptualization of collaboration posits a certain commonality among actors, including an assumed inherent drive to reach a common agreement or solution. In her approach, then, a common understanding of collaboration is crucial, as "a general theory of collaboration must begin with a definition of the phenomena that encompasses all observable forms and excludes irrelevant issues" (Wood & Gray, 1991, p. 143). The managerial and strategic use of collaboration in tourism subscribes to such a unifying and standardizing approach to the collaboration concept (see 4.2.1), whereas critical and multiplicity-oriented approaches (see 4.2.2) highly criticize one-sided understandings.

4.2. COLLABORATION IN TOURISM RESEARCH

In tourism research, the collaboration concept was first introduced in the seminal work "Collaboration theory and community tourism planning" by Jamal and Getz (1995). Drawing heavily on literature of inter-organizational theory, especially on Gray (1989), numerous other studies followed, also in tourism research. These studies theoretically and empirically investigate various aspects and applications of "collaboration," with its sub-fields ranging from tourism management, planning and development (Hall, 1999; Ioannides, Nielsen, & Billing, 2006; Ladkin & Bertramini, 2002; Sautter & Leisen, 1999; Timothy, 1998), to tourism marketing (Selin & Myers, 1998; Wang, 2008; Wang & Fesenmaier, 2007), and policymaking (Bramwell & Sharman, 1999; Parker, 1999; Vernon, Essex, Pinder, & Curry, 2005).

The constantly growing body of academic literature adds to but also obfuscates our understanding of the collaboration concept and its use. The empirical aspects dealt with include and discuss the identification and involvement of stakeholders in the planning and development process (Aas, Ladkin, & Fletcher, 2005; Bramwell & Sharman, 1999; Everett & Jamal, 2004; Ladkin & Bertramini, 2002; McComb, Boyd, & Boluk, 2017; Medeiros de Araujo & Bramwell, 1999; Waayers, Lee, & Newsome, 2012), the maintenance of existing collaborations as crucial aspects of development

(Arnaboldi & Spiller, 2011; Bramwell & Lane, 2000a; Jamal & Stronza, 2009; Vernon et al., 2005a), the strategic implementation of collaboration for long-lasting outcomes and positive benefits (de Araujo & Bramwell, 2002; Yaghmour & Scott, 2009), and/or the advocacy of collaborative approaches as central elements in any sustainable approach to tourism (Aas et al., 2005; Iorio & Corsale, 2014; Kokkranikal & Morrison, 2011).

Even though approaching and covering different aspects of collaboration, a gathering element that underlines the significance of studying collaboration in tourism is grounded in the sector's complex and fragmented nature (Adu-Ampong, 2017; Azizpour & Fathizadeh, 2016; Gajda, 2004; Jamal & Jamrozy, 2006). As Bramwell and Lane (2000b) argue, tourism is essentially an assembly process, albeit one that is complexly shaped (Zach & Racherla, 2011) and affected by a wide range of public and private actors, as well as a multiplicity of actants.[10] The fragmented nature of tourism results in an interlacement and interdependence of diverse components that are necessary to create and finally deliver the tourism product and services to the tourist. There are only few actors and/or organizations who have relative control over all the components necessary for its production, making it otherwise essential for everyone else to collaborate with other tourism actors. The vast majority of tourism actors must therefore depend on one another to provide the tourism product to the tourists, although they are competitors. This not only affects the production of the single tourism product and service, it also heavily impacts tourism development as a whole. As Selin (1999) has aptly stated, the shaping of any tourism future depends on collaborative action:[11]

> "As we approach the end of the 20th century, it has become quite clear to tourism managers, planners, and academics that no one individual or organisation can dictate the future of the tourism industry. Whether the tourism objective is economic development, conservation, social justice, or protected area management, we are discovering the power of collaborative action" (1999, p. 260).

Based on this theoretical layout of the collaboration concept, I conclude this part by agreeing with Yaghmour and Scott (2009), who broadly define collaboration as "a

[10] The term "actants" stems from an actor–network theoretical frame of understanding and refers to material objects that are notable for their association with human actors and the activities they undertake in conjunction with such objects.

[11] "Collaborative action" refers to a specific act of collectively doing something to deal with an issue. It thus differs from "collaborative activities" in that the latter refers to specific practices.

process that occurs by working together" (2009, p. 118). This definition of collaboration is as broad and fuzzy as the conceptual discussions of the term. As I introduced in the beginning of this chapter, however, the generated material from my own research quickly challenged the theoretical conceptualization of the concept of collaboration, calling for complementing theory with empirical substance. This is why, despite being inspired by the readings of collaboration theory introduced above, I have instead turned my focus to the process whereby collaboration unfolds, what it does, and how it plays out in practice on the ground rather than choosing or aiming to develop a definition of the term.

4.2.1. MANAGERIAL APPROACH TO AND STRATEGIC USE OF "COLLABORATION"

Despite a continuously diversifying body of literature on collaboration in tourism (Morris & Miller-Stevens, 2016a), many scholars continue to primarily appraise collaboration as a pivotal tool for tourism planning and development. In these studies, collaboration is regarded as a straightforward and organized process, normatively applicable as a strategic tool. Here, tourism scholars jointly agree on the potential, positive effects offered by collaboration. As Wang and Fesenmaier (2007) have noted, collaboration has been well-documented as a strategic and productive tool for enabling tourism actors and organizations to overcome individual resource deficiencies and remain competitive. In particular, collaboration is regarded as holding "the potential to lead to dialogue, negotiation and the building of mutually acceptable proposals about how tourism should be developed" (Bramwell & Lane, 2000b, p. 1). On this premise, it is widely argued that collaboration enables actors to overcome organizational challenges and limitations, and to resolve issues emerging from the fragmented nature of tourism, from the challenging tourism environment (dependent on factors such as policy making, infrastructure, and seasonality), and from an increasingly competitive global market (Baggio, 2011; Bramwell & Lane, 2000b; Jamal & Getz, 1995). It is therefore hardly surprising that "collaboration" is widely regarded as key in tourism.

As introduced in Chapter 1, practitioners in the field of tourism in Greenland also supported the broadly disseminated view that collaboration is exclusively positive and essential for tackling daily challenges (Ren & Chimirri, 2017). Peter, the manager of a cultural institution in Nanortalik in southern Greenland, supports the general positive attitude of tourism actors in Greenland toward collaboration, explaining:

> "We have a very limited budget. Things we'd like to do cost money. Collaboration helps us with that. We're always looking for it" (Peter, April 2018).

For Peter, collaboration functions in terms of mitigating limited financial resources. In this case, collaboration is conceived of strategically and as part of a managerial approach to organizing existing resources in the best possible way. Meanwhile, more critical voices in academia argue that collaboration is not as simple as the more managerial approach makes it sound, even though the body of literature supporting such an approach is growing continuously, and many scholars keep highlighting the utility of the concept. These critical voices also raise questions that resonate well with my own empirical material and which challenge managerial approaches, while in their stead proposing to move toward more multifaceted and context-embedded approaches to collaboration.

4.2.2. CRITICAL AND MULTIPLICITY-ORIENTED APPROACHES TO COLLABORATION

In a paper entitled "Rethinking collaboration and partnership: A public policy perspective," Hall (1999) argues that a "predominance of narrow corporatist notions of collaboration" (1999, p. 274) persist in tourism research. He opposes such notions by arguing that collaboration does not take place in a linear and systematic manner and by fundamentally excluding the possibility that collaboration could be conceived as a strategic and implementable instrument for tourism planning and development. Nevertheless, numerous tourism scholars argue that the striving for a "common good" is an essential precondition for collaboration (see, e.g., Parker, 2000). In this latter view, diverse tourism actors gather, agree on a problem domain, and constructively explore the possibilities for finding (a) solution(s) in order to change the existing circumstances, which created the problem domain they are facing (Gray, 1989).

The instrumentality of this thinking, reproduced by more managerial approaches, is thus already embedded in Gray's original definition. Accordingly, scholars such as Hall (1999) and Liburd (2018) do not agree with Gray's foundational idea that commonality and the assumed inherent striving of actors to find common agreement can be a priori posited. In her co-authored book, *Collaboration for Sustainable Tourism Development* (Liburd & Edwards, 2018), Liburd argues that "collaboration is not a neutral undertaking. It implicates interests and power" (2018, p. 8). This challenges Gray's view of collaboration, regarding collaboration as dependent on a variety of rather apolitical factors, such as individual motivations, diverse personalities, the perceived role of the involved actors within the community, interdependences among actors, and an existing or absent sense of trust (Waayers et al., 2012). According to Liburd (2018), collaborative actions are entangled in multiple interests and existing power structures; they are in no way politically neutral.

Critical, multiplicity-oriented, and/or alternative approaches to collaboration remain uncommon in the tourism research literature, at least when compared to the widely present managerial perspectives. However, my own experiences with practitioners speak rather to the multiplicity-oriented voices in the collaboration debates. They support the notion that the collaboration process is unorganized, chaotic, fractal and partial, largely uncontrollable, continuously changing, and can be highly controversial given the fact that multiple individuals with different experiential backgrounds and perspectives gather and engage with one another.

Returning to the previous argument on the sparse existence of empirical studies of collaboration, the debates regarding the definition of the concept hover abstractly above practice without having any practical relevance. Therefore, rather than exploring what collaboration is and developing an alternative definition, I argue that we must investigate how collaboration takes place between and among tourism practitioners.

In this spirit, the following section argues that the study of collaboration in tourism would benefit from being approached from a more practice-oriented take. Here, the focus would be on how collaboration is carried out or practiced, rather than on grasping collaboration first and foremost as useful in strategic and managerial terms.

4.3. TOWARD A PRACTICE-ORIENTED APPROACH TO COLLABORATION

Any chosen collaboration theory obviously helps to create an understanding of how and why actors collaborate to deal with emerging challenges and issues. However, none of those hitherto presented explicitly explores and more closely engages with collaboration in terms of what it is for—and means to—the involved tourism actors: a very practical, hands-on issue (Waayers et al., 2012). Collaboration would be very context-dependent in such a light, referring to much more than one specific thing due to the explicitly present involvement, interlacement, and interdependence of the multiple tourism actors. Such thinking would call for a turn toward empirically *exploring what collaboration **does** in the specific contexts to create an understanding of what it **is** in the respective context,* rather than reproducing theoretically abstract conceptions.

The briefly introduced, rather critical and multiplicity-oriented approaches to the concept (see Hall, 1999; Liburd & Edwards, 2018) lean toward such an approach. Among other things, they highlight how collaboration is very differently expressed according to whatever the tourism practitioners are concretely working with and according to that which they are concerned on a daily basis. Scholars following such approaches lay the groundwork for a more practice-oriented view on collaboration. However, these approaches do not yet add enough empirical "texture" to the

concept. I agree with Waayers et al. (2012) that "there is a need to explore [...] [collaboration] in applied situations" (2012, p. 673). The current shortcoming of more practice-oriented approaches to collaboration is that they also lack empirical accounts of how collaboration unfolds and is carried out in practice. This lack is worrying in that it is precisely through how things are done, through practice(s) that "different […] actors and materials are continually connected, held together, recreated and reshuffled" (James, Ren, & Halkier, 2018, p. 1). Central aspects of collaboration are thus necessarily neglected.

In this latter understanding, complexes or assemblages of practices enable and enact that which practitioners and scholars call tourism. As illustrated empirically in the following, collaboration is that which connects these complexes of practices. Practices always already imply collaboration, forming multiple group activities through interactions between and across individuals, organizations, or both, in a wide range of settings (Morris & Miller-Stevens, 2016a; Shove et al., 2012). Therefore, ***tourism makes collaboration essential, although less as a normative managerial tool than as an indispensable, everyday activity***.

In line with this temporary conclusion, this dissertation has engaged and engages in the empirical exploration of "collaboration" in the tourism field in Greenland. While inspired by the initial readings of collaboration theory introduced above, it quickly came to challenge these readings due to their limited empirical (and thus practical) relevance. It therefore came to instead develop a practice-oriented approach aimed at exploring how the Greenland tourism landscape is enacted through collaborations from within practitioners' everyday doings. Here, the focus is on how collaboration unfolds, what it does, and how it plays outs in practice on the ground. A social practice theory-inspired approach deliberately rejects a priori explaining or defining what collaboration is, and it refrains from constructing abstract explanations of what collaboration should or could be used for (in contrast to the managerial approach to collaboration in tourism, see 4.2.1). Before empirically applying a practice-oriented take, however, the following chapter begins with a theoretical introduction to social practice theory approaches. This creates the basis for establishing a social practice theory perspective as the analytical lens for empirically approaching collaboration in a practice-oriented manner (as then implemented in Chapter 6.3).

CHAPTER 5 - OUTLINING SOCIAL PRACTICE THEORY APPROACHES AS ANALYTICAL LENS

The chapter in hand starts by outlining traditional social practice theory approaches, the practice turn in practice theory, and more recent social practice approaches. These contextualizing sections on practice theories are followed by a section focusing specifically on social practice theory approaches in tourism research and their increasing prominence. However, this section also underlines that, even though social practice theory approaches are gaining increased interest, tourism research inspired by practice theories still represents a relatively limited part of the literature (Lamers, van der Duim, & Spaargaren, 2017). As argued in the previous section (4.3), meanwhile, the study of collaboration in tourism could benefit from being approached through a practice-oriented take. By exploring how tourism is practiced by multiple actors working in collaboration, this is expected to add to our phronetically developed, practically relevant knowledge and understanding of the tourism landscape in Greenland.

5.1. THE "PRACTICE TURN" IN SOCIAL THEORY

The concept of practices[12] and its various derivatives experienced a renaissance in the 1970s and 1980s. Since then, social practice theories have developed continuously. In recent decades, social practice theory approaches have been increasingly positioned as central for understanding contemporary social phenomena (Hui, Schatzki, & Shove, 2017; Nicolini, 2012; Schatzki, Knorr Cetina, & Von Savigny, 2001; Warde, 2014). According to Schatzki (2019), the "expression 'theories of practices' denotes a family of theoretical approaches, all of which make the concept of practices central to their account of social life and social phenomena" (2019, p. 3). Academics from different scholarly traditions have collectively contributed to the body of social practice approaches (Nicolini, 2012). Sociologists such as Pierre Bourdieu and Anthony Giddens and philosophers such as Michel Foucault have articulated new and diverse theoretical formulations of social practice theory approaches; there is no single theoretical social practice tradition. A broad set of converging propositions exists as opposed to one uniform practice theory

[12] Social practice theorists agree that the world is composed of many practices—there is never just one practice alone—and all practices are always somehow connected (Schatzki, 2019). Nevertheless, the emergence of multiple practices presupposes that there are also single practices with which to begin. As this dissertation zooms in on "what happens on the ground" between and among practitioners in Greenland, the term "practice" (singular) is used when specifically focusing on a single concrete action.

approach (Reckwitz, 2002; Schatzki, 2019; Warde, 2014). As Warde (2014) argues, the emergence of these multiple theories of practices is grounded in the "number of fundamental problems of social theory at the point of the passing of economism and Marxism in the 1970s" (2014, p. 284).

Traditional social science theories aim to provide either explanations for individual human behavior and social phenomena or they adopt a holistic vision. The first line of approach is grounded in an individualistic understanding of the actor, whereas the holistic approach primarily focuses on existing structures. In order to overcome this determinist polarization, modern social practice theorists are concerned with the reconciliation of this dualist agency–structure opposition. They neglect the up-to-date prevailing tendency of describing the world in reductive oppositional terms, such as actor/system, social/material, body/mind, and theory/action (Nicolini, 2012, p. 2 ff.). A practice perspective instead decenters from the individual as the unit for social analysis (Schatzki, 1996), instead focusing on "distributed agency" (Wallenborn & Wilhite, 2014). Wallenborn and Wilhite (2014) refer to "distributed agency" as the capacity to enact practices. They argue that practices are the results of coordination among different agents, both human and non-human. The agency of the individual agents is distributed among the different entities that are enacted in a practice (Wallenborn & Wilhite, 2014, p. 57).

In the 1990s, the "practice turn" in social theory was regarded as the culmination of these reformulations. Nicolini (2012) argues that these new, emerging formulations among modern social practice theorists differ from the traditional practice approaches mainly in four different aspects: First, activities, performance, and work are recognized as central aspects in the creation and maintenance of social life. Here, practices that constitute activities, performance, and work are inherently processual, and the world is therefore characterized as an ongoing routinized and recurrent accomplishment. Second, and in connection with the first aspect, materiality plays an important role. Practices are defined as "routine bodily activities made possible by the active contribution of an array of material resources" (Nicolini, 2012, p. 4). Practices that do not involve material artefacts nor any kind of bodies are inconceivable in the eyes of modern social practice theorists. Third, the new approaches offer new spaces for individual agency as well as agents. These spaces open up for individual initiative and performance as well as creativity, and "these are in fact necessary, as performing a practice always requires adapting to new circumstances so that practising is neither mindless repetition nor complete invention" (Nicolini, 2012, pp. 4–5). Last but not least, "adopting a practice approach radically transforms our view of knowledge, meaning, and discourse." Knowledge is always a shared way of knowing with others. Becoming and eventually being part of an emerging and/or existing practice involves learning how to act, how to speak, and what things mean (Nicolini, 2012).

5.2. RECENT SOCIAL PRACTICE THEORY APPROACHES

Recently developed social practice theory approaches constitute a broad family of diverse theoretical approaches; however, they are in fact "connected by a web of historical and conceptual similarities" (Nicolini, 2012, p. 1). Schatzki (2019) illustrates such similarities in the social practice theory approaches as four links, which he calls "common ideas." They connect the diverse approaches without wanting to do away with their differences. Firstly and most fundamentally, Schatzki (2019) argues that social practice theorists agree that "the social life is composed, at least centrally, of practices" (2019, p. 3), even though they may neither agree on what a practice is, nor on what it means for social life to consist of practices. They mutually agree that "practices are organized actions" (Schatzki, 2019, p. 3) and that they cannot be carried out by a single individual in solitude. Practices must always be executed by multiple persons. Secondly, social theorists agree that the world consists of many practices. There is never just one practice alone, and all practices are always somehow connected. Thirdly, "social phenomena […] are either aspects of, complexes of, or rooted in constellations of practices" (2019, p. 3). Fourthly, the emerging theories of practices are inspired and grounded in the ideas of philosophers such as Ludwig Wittgenstein (1957) and Martin Heidegger (1978). However, "perhaps the central philosophical inheritance is the idea that human activity rests on something that cannot be put into words" (Schatzki, 2019, p. 4). As Schatzki explains, there are diverse notions of that to which this "something" might refer. For example, Bourdieu refers to it as "habitus," whereas Giddens attributes it to a "practical consciousness," and Dreyfuss grounds it in "skills."

> "All these expressions designate abilities, grasps, or dispositions that in some sense shape, govern, or underlie human activity, but whose specific bearing on what people do on specific occasions cannot be captured by the significance or implications for activity of any finite collection of symbolic formulations" (Schatzki, 2019, p. 4).

Beyond these foundational commonalities, current practice theories offer various conceptualizations of practices. Shove, Pantzar, and Watson (2012) suggest studying practices as interrelated nexuses of meanings, competencies, and materials. Warde (2005) argues instead that practices emerge from a combination of understandings (skills and know-how), procedures (embodied in rules, principles, and instructions), and engagements (e.g., emotions). Shove et al. (2012), as well as Warde (2005), describe each of their elements as constituent elements of practices; hence, they fundamentally also disagree—at least in words.

What becomes apparent when familiarizing oneself with the different approaches, however, is that "emerging practices" become the main unit of analysis across all social practice theory approaches. Individuals fade into the background, whereas

their practices are brought to the fore. Individuals then become carriers of practices (Reckwitz, 2002; Shove et al., 2012): so-called practitioners. There are multiple practitioners active in any environment, and practices are always executed by multiple persons. Given the diversity of actors, emerging practices are therefore most likely heterogeneous. This creates complex and entangled aggregates of practices. As Reckwitz (2002) further unfolds, these aggregates of practices consist of interdependencies between diverse elements, including different forms of bodily and mental activities. Elements comprise of tangible objects and their use together with intangible elements, such as knowledge in the form of understanding and expertise, as well as in the form of emotions and feelings.

In sum, then, Nicolini (2012) hits the proverbial nail on the head when writing that

> "while practice theories can offer a radically new way of understanding and explaining social and organizational phenomena, they can only be approached as a plurality. Much is to be gained if we appreciate both the similarities and differences among practice theories, and if we make such differences work for us" (2012, p. 1).

In this dissertation, I have drawn my primary inspiration from Schatzki (1996, 2019; 2001), Nicolini (2012), and Shove et al. (2012), and attempted to appreciate both their similarities and differences. To understand how tourism in Greenland is enacted, the proposed practice theory approach places emerging practices in the foreground, allowing for a more in-depth view of the social world in this Arctic destination (Nicolini, 2012). In so doing, the individual is decentered as the unit of social analysis (Schatzki, 1996), and the focus shifts to the distributed agency among practitioners in the tourism field in Greenland. Emerging practices result from the coordination among multiple agents—actors and actants, human and non-human—whereas existing constitutive elements (Shove et al., 2012) enable the coming together of present agents to establish practices. Emerging practices are always required to adapt to new circumstances, while neither mindlessly repeating nor establishing completely new practices (Nicolini, 2012).

5.3. SOCIAL PRACTICE THEORY APPROACHES IN TOURISM STUDIES

Tourism research inspired by social practice theory approaches has only recently gained increased prominence (James et al., 2018), wheras the term "practice" has already been frequently used in tourism studies without directly connecting it to social practice theories, as such (Lamers et al., 2017). Even though social practice theory approaches are gaining increased interest and the body of literature is growing, tourism research inspired by practice theories remains marginal (ibid.).

Practice theory approaches have been used to study tourism as cultural practice (James et al., 2018), focusing on the production and consumption of the tourism product as well as (inter)linked tourist experiences. In this line, practice-inspired tourism studies have explored a variety of tourism activities and fields of engagement, including the guiding of tourists (Rantala, 2010; Rantala, Valtonen, & Markuksela, 2011), sustainable tourist behaviours (Anciaux, 2019; Bargeman, Richards, & Govers, 2018; Iaquinto & Pratt, 2020) and development (Alonso, Kok, & O'Brien, 2018; Mayaka, Croy, & Cox, 2018), visitor's engagement (Melvin, Winklhofer, & McCabe, 2020) and value creation (Dolan, Seo, & Kemper, 2019; Sørensen, Fuglsang, Sundbo, & Jensen, 2020), and regional development (James & Halkier, 2016; Smith, Robbins, & Dickinson, 2019), among others, to illuminate specific tourism markets, such as Arctic cruises (Lamers, Duske, & van Bets, 2018; Lamers et al., 2017; Lamers & Pashkevich, 2018) or the emerging Chinese market and its practices (Connell & McManus, 2019; Jin, Moscardo, & Murphy, 2019).

Overall, the application of practice theory approaches contributes to tourism studies in three ways. First, it creates in-depth knowledge of performed tourism production, consumption, and experiences. Second, practice theories explore the embeddedness and entanglement of tourism practices in everyday life (Lamers et al., 2017), and thereby "illuminate the connections between the everyday and tourism" (Larsen, 2008, in James et al., 2018, p. 4). By involving actors and actants, human and non-human agents, it creates a broader understanding of how the tourism landscape is established, and of who is involved in its making. Third, based on Nicolini's (2012) argument that practices are always required to adapt to new circumstances, while refraining from both mindlessly repeating and establishing completely new practices, a practice theory approach illuminates the process of change from within.

Thus far, the primary focus of tourism literature applying social practice approaches is on the tourist's perspective, and to a lesser extent on the tourism actors or practitioners who constitute the tourism landscape through their practices. An even smaller focus is placed on collaboration as configurations of actions, which are, at least according to Nicolini (2012), precisely practices (p. 10). An exception is found in a recently published article, "Collaboration gaps and regional tourism networks in rural coastal communities," by Stoddart et al. (2020). In this article, practice theory is used to analyze collaboration in tourism. However, the focus of the article is placed on the emerging collaboration *gaps* influencing the building of networks and not on exploring how collaboration emerges.

The practice-oriented approach to collaboration in the present dissertation seeks to contribute to the scarce tourism literature by "operationalizing," or applying, practice theory. In so doing, it intends to add to our knowledge of the tourism landscape in Greenland by exploring how tourism in this Arctic destination is enacted through practices among practitioners forming collaborations. Finally, by

approaching, studying, and understanding tourism as collaborative practices, it aims to initiate a perceptual shift in the understanding of tourism as an everyday-life phenomenon. In the spirit of change (see Nicolini, 2012), it embraces tourism as a phenomenon of an ongoing becoming with the social world.

As "practices" are at the center of this dissertation's analytical focus, the following and final section of this chapter delimits the term's conceptualization in this context and outlines relevant elements of practices. This creates the basis for discussing how this dissertation uses and operationalizes social practice theory approaches in greater detail in order to approach, study, and understand tourism through the collaboration concept. Together with Publication 3, this final section thus establishes practice theory as an analytical lens for studying tourism.

5.4. THE TERM "PRACTICES" AND ITS ELEMENTS

Multiple variations of defining "practices" exist due to the diverse body of practice theories itself (Dolan et al., 2019; Jin et al., 2019; Nicolini, 2012). All studies aim to develop new vocabularies to provide new understandings of the world by delineating different specific "units of analysis;" or rather, practices. The detailed definition of these units depends on the respective theory. But by limiting oneself to one specific definition, the analytical richness of the different social practice theory approaches is simultaneously reduced (see Nicolini, 2012). Therefore, drawing on inspiration from Schatzki (1996, 2019; 2001), Nicolini (2012), as well as the Shove et al. (2012) approach to the constitutive elements of practices, the following section embraces the opportunity to combine these scholars' definitions of what "practices" denote. I suggest that a combination of the different definitions enriches the understanding of tourism as practices, and it provides a rich, practice-based understanding of the Greenland tourism landscape by exploring every-day practices forming collaborations and thereby enacting the tourism landscape.

In his seminal work from 1996, "Social Practices: A Wittgensteinian Approach to Human Activity and the Social," Theodore Schatzki proposed practices as a crucial element of any social scientific analysis of social order and personal conduct. Here, Schatzki defines practices as "temporally unfolding and spatially dispersed nexus of doings and sayings" (1996, p. 89). Ultimately, a "practice" must be translated into concrete action. Similar to Schatzki's definition of what practice denotes, Nicolini (2012) states that "practices are thus configurations of actions which carry a specific meaning" (2012, p. 10). Shove, Pantzar, and Watson (2012) expand this definition by adding the aspect of entity and performance to the picture. They agree with Nicolini (2012) in terms of regarding practices as a conjunction, whereas they focus on the connection of different elements. These elements are neither specified nor do they explicitly exclude actions as element. It is decisive that these conjunctions form an *entity* based on a set of resources—or what they term "practice as entity."

Additionally, they argue that practices exist as *performances* at the same time. These "practices as performances" in the form of immediate doings complete and recurrently reproduce practices-as-an-entity. It is only through these performances that the conjunction and interdependencies of elements are constituted and sustained over time (Shove et al., 2012, p. 7).

Linking this line of argumentation to the case of the Greenland tourism landscape, collaboration is considered the entity of practice. This practice-as-entity is separated from the performances of single emerging practices in the form of the different "collaborative configurations" (see Chapter 6), or that to which Shove et al. refer as practice-as-performance. Collaboration only occurs, exists, and persists over time when collaborative configurations are recurrently enacted and therefore continuously reproduce the interdependencies of which the emerging practices are comprised of (see Shove et al., 2012).

According to Shove et al. (2012), the successful assembly of emerging practices relies on three interrelated and constitutive elements: *meaning*, *material,* and *competence*. The constitutive element "meanings" refer to intangible aspects that carry social and symbolic significance. They motivate actors to establish and participate in emerging practices. As Shove et al. (2012) argue, for practices to emerge, ascribed meanings to (an) existing or future practice must be either the same or at least similar; otherwise, practice(s) will not emerge. "Materials" mainly refers to objects, tangible physical entities, and technologies. Actors must have sufficient access to materials and resources (e.g., financial means, digital, and physical infrastructure) to be able to engage in and be part of emerging practices. Materials range from infrastructure, tools, hardware, to the body itself (cf. also Shove, Watson, Hand, & Ingram, 2007). "Competences" encompasses, for example, the knowledge, skills, expertise, know-how, and mental as well as manual techniques necessary to engage in and be able to carry out practices. If the required competences are non-existent, actors must be (at least) willing to acquire such competences prior to engaging in or while being part of the emerging practices.

Shove et al. (2012) further argue that practices are also generative in the sense that they can produce meanings, materials, and competences, and that practices emerge, persist, and disappear due to the establishment, maintenance, and breakdown of the connected elements. To explain how these links between elements endure over time, Shove et al. operate with the notion of "circuits of reproduction" (inspired by Gidden's "reproduction circuit;" Shove et al., 2012, p. 97 ff.). First, the configuration of one or all of the three constitutive elements must be consistent and recurrent (circuit 1). Second, configurations are shaped by previous and coexisting practices (circuit 2). Moreover, there must be a connection (i.e., "feedback") between the emerging and already existing practices (circuit 3).

Lamers and Pashkevich (2018) draw on the Shove et al. (2012) terminology in their article, "Short-circuiting cruise tourism practices along the Russian Barents Sea coast? The case of Arkhangelsk," where they analyze what cruise tourism practices consist of and how they are sustained. By drawing on the "circuits of reproduction" notion, they argue that tourism actors are capable of altering practices, "by changing the configuration of the elements (circuit 1) or creating connections between various practices (circuits 2 and 3)" (Lamers & Pashkevich, 2018, p. 443). Ergo, tourism actors create and engage in collaborative practices by establishing, forming, and maintaining, but also by altering, recreating, and reshuffling collaborations.

As hopefully illustrated by now, the exploration of the concept of collaboration in tourism could largely benefit from being approached and studied by the help of a social practice theory-inspired approach. This would place the focus on how tourism is practiced through collaboration and what collaboration actually does rather than on what collaboration is to be strategically and managerially used for.

Based on Schatzki (1996, 2019; 2001), Nicolini (2012), and Shove et al. (2012), I have developed an overarching conceptual understanding of practices. Meanwhile, the dissertation's empirical examples have been primarily analyzed on the grounds of the Shove et al. practice theory approach. Their operationalization directs attention to the *meanings* tourism actors ascribe to collaboration as part of their everyday life, and to which *materials* and *competences* are considered necessary to establish and maintain practices. The Shove et al. (2012) approach provided me with an analytical tool with which to explore the emergence or impediment of practices and helped illustrate how these practices then form collaborations constituting the Greenland tourism landscape.

That which has been argued theoretically in this chapter will now be empirically illustrated in Chapter 6 with reference to Publication 1 (see Appendix C, p. 113-138) and followed by Publication 3 (see Appendix E, p. 163-186).

CHAPTER 6 – ANALYZING COLLABORATION IN PRACTICE

This chapter connects the previous theoretical introductions to practice theory approaches and to the collaboration concept to the empirical and theoretical contributions of this dissertation in the form of Publications 1 and 3 together with the analytical chapter in hand. The chapter starts by exploring how collaborations are carried out in practice, and it introduces the analytical concept of "collaborative configurations" to denote emerging forms of collaboration (section 6.1). I have developed the collaborative configurations concept on the basis of the co-created fieldwork data. It specifies how, empirically speaking, collaborations unfold in very different ways in and across diverse heterogeneous practices and among and between multiple practitioners. This analytical outcome adds empirical substance to (while also criticizing) the hitherto established theoretical concept of collaboration (as presented in Chapter 4). By adopting a practice-theoretical take in section 6.3, as presented in Chapter 5, this second part of the analysis turns to practices and analyzes the constitutive elements leading to the (non-)emergence of collaborative practices.

As introduced in Chapter 4, collaboration theory usually argues in favor of a specific commonality across actors (see Gray, 1989). An analogous approach has been adopted when talking about tourism in Greenland on the public and political levels. As described in Chapter 2, the managerial approach of strategic planning and implementing tourism as a tool for stimulating prosperity and economic wealth for Greenlandic society taps into a very similar understanding; it presupposes the will to collaborate, the mutual agreement on problems and challenges, and a common directionality of actors and their activities. However, the empirical material from my first fieldwork in southern Greenland and the resulting publication (Publication 1, see Appendix C, p. 113-138) revealed a clash between this original concept of collaboration in theoretical terms and the empirical manifestation of the phenomenon. The explorative case study in Publication 1 reveals how collaboration does not take place in a coherent, linear, and/or systematic manner (see Hall, 1999). Instead, it illustrated how the tourism landscape in southern Greenland is characterized by diverse tourism actors and multiple practices, leading to a highly complex environment of uncertainties and conflicts. Multiple collaborative

activities[13] appear simultaneously and continuously affect, complement, and contradict each other (Chimirri, 2020a). Instead of being only one uniform thing, the collaborative activities described in Publication 1 are manifested in four configurations of collaborations, such as positioning, coordination, networking, and cooperation. They are all modes of acting and conducting collaboration in different ways, while existing at the same time. They differ in terms of how and to what ends collaboration takes place and are characterized by the different perspectives actors bring to the table, resulting in these multiple forms of collaboration (Chimirri, 2020a).

Publication 1 thus argues that collaboration is a highly intertwined ecology comprised of multiple, complex, and heterogeneous practices and diverse activities. All of them are grounded in individual motivations and reasons for acting. This connects to the view introduced earlier by Hall (1999): That collaboration does not take place in a linear and systematic way, which stands in opposition to the widespread managerial approach to collaboration as something strategically applicable for defined tourism purposes. The collaboration process is by definition rather unorganized, chaotic, fractal and partial, largely uncontrollable, continuously changing, and can be highly controversial given the fact that multiple individuals with different experiential backgrounds and perspectives (must) gather.

Not ignoring the fact that collaboration is theoretically (Bramwell & Lane, 2000b; Selin, 1999) and empirically (Ren & Chimirri, 2017) considered to enable actors to overcome differences, the Publication 1 case study underlines how this widely repeated mantra of collaboration also has its shortcomings. As Wong, Mistilis, and Dwyer (2011) point out, it certainly illustrates that when researching collaboration, the focus must be on the respective environments and surroundings in which collaboration takes place. Collaboration should always be considered from within its concrete present context. Only by adding practical insights and thus empirical substance from the field, can we, as scholars and practitioners, create a broader, practically more relevant understanding of the collaboration concept, thereby adding to the presently rather vague and elusive definition of the term.

By combining practice and theory, which is also in keeping with the overarching phronetic methodology of the dissertation, such an empirically grounded approach supports William's (2016) suggestion to recognize that there can neither be a unifying nor distinct theory of collaboration. Instead, it is essential to acknowledge

[13] As introduced previously in Chapter 3, "collaborative activities" refer to specific multiple practices. This stands in contrast to "collaborative action," which refers to a specific act of mutually doing something in order to deal with an issue.

the empirically always already entangled threads of multiple theories, which draw on both managerially laden approaches and collaboration models for strategic use, on the one hand, and a critical, multiplicity-oriented and constructivist approach to collaboration on the other (see 4.2). Consequently, this dissertation proposes a third position as a contrast and addition to these two existing understandings: to approach and explore collaboration through a practice-oriented approach (4.3), as reflected in the term "collaborative configurations" as a consolidation of theory and practice (6.1). This forms the basis for the creation of an understanding of the Greenland tourism landscape through collaboration as it emerges from within practice (6.2).

6.1. "COLLABORATIVE CONFIGURATIONS"

According to Publication 1 (see Appendix C, p. 113-138), collaborative configurations are considered specifications of how collaboration unfolds in different ways through diverse, heterogeneous practices. Whereas the theoretical term "collaboration" refers solely to a group activity (Morris & Miller-Stevens, 2016a), an act of working together (Yaghmour & Scott, 2009), and as part of an interactive process (Everett & Jamal, 2004), the term "collaborative configurations" differentiates between the diverse and manifold forms or expressions of "collaborations."

Analyses of the empirical data of Publication 1 substantiate how collaboration is neither a singular, static, nor homogenous interaction; that is, a single form of collaboration in the shape of a group activity. It illustrates collaboration as a highly flexible, adaptable, and fluid form of interaction among actors, groups, and organizations, leading to multiple collaborative forms at the same time (Chimirri, 2020a). Seen in this light, collaboration can be more than one thing; it serves multiple purposes for diverse practitioners toward manifold ends.

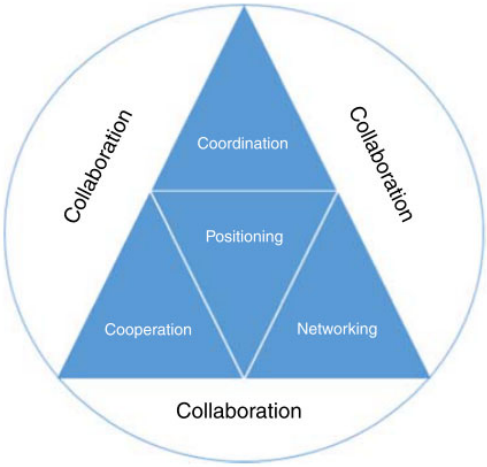

***Figure 11**: Collaborative configurations based on empirical data from fieldwork in southern Greenland, spring 2018 (own illustration in Chimirri, 2020a, p. 36)*

Forms of collaboration that emerged during the workshop setting were positioning, cooperation, coordination, and networking, whereas positioning takes a central position among the other three (see Figure 11).

The term "collaborative configurations" was phronetically developed in the process of analyzing the empirical material of the first fieldwork stay, which materialized in Publication 1. On the one hand, then, collaborative configurations are the analytical outcome of Publication 1; on the other, they also theoretically contribute to the collaboration concept by empirically supplementing and adding practical substance to the more generic term, "collaboration." The emphasis is on the actors' interactions with each other and on how, through these collaborative practices, tourism is enacted.

As Publication 1 is grounded in one particular empirical case study, its scope is limited to four emerging collaborative configurations of the respective case study of a workshop setting in southern Greenland. The following sub-sections therefore only show how these case-specific collaborative configurations emerge as possible (out of potentially many more) configurations. As previously argued on the background of inspiration from Wong, Mistilis, and Dwyer (2011), collaboration should be regarded in its respective context as it is situationally embedded (see also Chapter 4.2), and the following analyses further substantiate this argument. Additional material from other fieldwork in Greenland is added here solely for the purpose of supporting, supplementing, or highlighting aspects of the emerging collaborative configurations in Publication 1.

6.1.1. POSITIONING

The concept of positioning is widely known and researched in the tourism field. It refers to the placement of a company, organization, tourism destination, or tourism product or service from the tourist's perspective with an aim at positively influencing their travel choices (Chacko, 1996; Pike & Ryan, 2004). In the case study workshop, in contrast, the participants "positioned" themselves by exploring their individual differences to the other parties present. They did not mutually and actively search for solutions based on a common understanding of an existing problem, nor did they primarily seek to find a collective course of action with others in the end. Here, the purpose of working together was rooted in the identification of differences across actors. Consequently, this potentially led to the creation of a unique selling proposition for each of them and their respective businesses, as they followed different paths to distinguish themselves from the others. In its essence, this would not be compatible with Gray's (1989) definition of collaboration.

Irrespectively, and even though "positioning" does not appear in the classical literature on collaboration and might not seem to fit into the common definitional frame of collaboration, Publication 1 identified positioning as a collaborative configuration. On the one hand, positioning does serve the purpose of situating oneself as unique, thereby arguably creating a competitive advantage (Chimirri, 2020a). It aims to stimulate the individual business of the respective tourism actor. On the other hand, creating a competitive advantage over the other actors in the area is not the only aim of the tourism actors. The practitioners participating in the workshop and those interviewed for the project all underline how positioning also serves the purpose of working together. Maliina, a regional DMO employee, supports this:

> "My work is to collect information and contact every actor here [in the area] in order to cooperate. That's my main job. There are many different tourism actors, and I have to understand what they do so we can work together" (Maliina, southern Greenland, April 2018).

By positioning themselves in the field and investigating what others do, the practitioners identify both their competitors and potential collaborators. Such identification has enabled them to approach the other actors they felt to be most suitable for collaboration. Most of them have needed others to be able to produce and sell their products to the tourists, and it has been crucial for them to find partners, for instance to deliver supplies and resources.

The cases of Naja and Aviaja, practitioners located in Qaqortoq in southern Greenland, also support positioning as a form of collaboration. Here, Naja, a local incoming tour operator, has wanted to diversify her tourism palette to become more attractive for tourists and further develop her business. She has been planning to

offer storytelling tours to the visiting tourists but has lacked access to the resources required, such as places and buildings in town that relate to old Inuit stories or places entangled with the country's colonial past or artefacts relevant for the Inuit stories. She needs to collaborate with Aviaja, the leader of a local cultural institution, to gain access to these places and artefacts. Aviaja, in turn, has the mandate to document, archive, preserve, and disseminate the cultural heritage of the area. They are both aware of how they need each other to offer a tourism service (in the case of Naja) and to be able to disseminate knowledge to a broader public (Aviaja). Both see the value of their respective differences and position themselves accordingly, but not for the purpose of competing with one another; rather, to supplement one another, thereby each individually benefiting from this collaboration.

In conclusion, "positioning" refers to the identification of differences among actors for competitive or collaborative reasons. Positioning as collaborative configuration fulfills one purpose for one particular practitioner, while the exact same collaboration might entail a very different purpose for another practitioner at the very same time. These differences are neither per se competitive nor collaborative in nature. As the empirical examples show, the meaning of positioning is highly context-dependent for the respective practitioner, and this meaning can even oscillate for the individual practitioner.

6.1.2. COORDINATION

In theory, coordination refers to the challenge of connecting multiple actors, groups of actors, organizations, and institutional bodies (Timothy, 1998). Zach and Racherla (2011) argue that the success of a destination depends on the seamless coordination of its stakeholders. Coordination is therefore attributed high significance in tourism planning and development in terms of the involvement of tourism actors (Adu-Ampong, 2017; Hall, 1999; Jamal & Getz, 1995). According to Ladkin and Bertramini (2002), coordination can be regarded as the first step toward a collaborative process, but it is not considered as collaboration, per se. Theoretically, the argument is made that coordination unto itself does not solve problems, but that it can provide a healthy environment for developing collaboration (Adu-Ampong, 2017).

Similar to positioning, coordination is theoretically not considered to fulfill specific practical purposes for the concrete practitioners in the field. Nevertheless, the practitioners in Publication 1 and quotes from the empirical material upon which this project builds generally credit positioning and coordination high significance. They express how positioning and coordination enable them to create tourism products and services, as well as helping them to cope with the challenges they face in their daily lives.

Peter, the leader of a cultural institution in Narsaq (southern Greenland), supports this view in his description of how he and others work together:

> "For example, he [referring to another practitioner in the area] has good connections to the cruise ships. So we get the connection to the cruise passengers through him. He also has good connections with all kinds of organizations, with the local choir, and people living here. So he offers *kaffemik* in people's homes, folk dancing, performances by the kayak association, and he includes visits to us, the museum, in these packages. That's how we work together. We provide the facilities for visitors and he connects us all somehow" (Peter, southern Greenland, April 2018).

Peter describes how one community member has been particularly active in coordinating local practitioners to create a tourism product that he then offered to the incoming cruise tourists. Without these coordination efforts, the other practitioners in the area would be unable to connect and enact tourism in a meaningful way. By coming together and each contributing in different ways, they mutually practice and create tourism in the area.

Similarly, the workshop participants in Publication 1 (Chimirri, 2020a, p. 31 ff.) describe the need to relate the multiple actors on-site, as well as across the entire destination, to one another. On the one hand, the workshop participants relate this need to the different organizational structures of each region in Greenland. As research participant JP explains: "It's different from region to region how tourism is organized" (Chimirri, 2020a, p. 32). Due to these differences, the single organizations need to coordinate to connect. This is considered essential for collaborating and enacting "Tourism Destination Greenland" as a whole. On the other hand, there is also an apparent lack and recognized need for local-level organizational structures (e.g., DMCs or DMOs). The following quote from a student who took part in the workshop and shared her experiences with an internship she completed during her studies emphasizes this challenge: "There isn't actually any tourism office on site, and because of that, the city itself thinks about how tourism could take place" (Chimirri, 2020a, p. 33). In some areas, hence, there are no formal organizational structures officially responsible for and working with the planning and development of tourism (which is similar to the informal situation described by Peter above).

Especially in the case of missing structures, the research participants emphasize the significance of coordinating activities. Many research participants mention how connecting with others through coordination is crucial for them to be able to practice tourism in these areas. This results in coordinating efforts initiated by organizations not usually responsible for tourism development and planning, and/or by individual practitioners, as in Peter's example. Or someone like the student participating in the workshop, who states: "I'm a coordinator and coordinate things [as there isn't any on-site tourism office, but] it's important for us that everyone in the area—the people making souvenirs, elderly, associations, everyone—is part of it […] We contacted everyone, asked what they are able to do and what they want to contribute with" (Chimirri, 2020a, p. 33).

What is important to underline here is the fact that these examples demonstrate how the lack of a formal local tourism organization (e.g., a DMC or DMO) does not automatically imply that no collaboration takes place. However, it is also crucial to emphasize that, in the examples in which organizational structures are missing, coordination efforts are highly dependent on personal motivation and individual willingness.

6.1.3. COOPERATION

As Björk and Virtanen (2005) argue, cooperation "is the mortar that unites actors and creates a basis for synergy effects" (2005, p. 213). This type of collaborative configuration indicates the willingness of tourism actors to work together toward specific objectives (see Jamal & Getz, 1995). In Publication 1 (see Chimirri, 2020a, p. 35), this mortar was specified in terms of collaborative actions initiated and established to achieve certain goals.

Aviaja, leader of a cultural institution in southern Greenland (see 6.1.1.), explicitly expressed her intention to cooperate with other actors in the area, explaining: "We're trying to meet people to cooperate, because we want to do something" (Chimirri, 2020a, p. 35). She already had ideas and plans in mind about how to promote and develop the area and the cultural institution for which she was working. She also had a clear vision as to who might be relevant for her to cooperate with in order to achieve these goals. Returning to the previously introduced example of Aviaja and Naja in 6.1.1., both practitioners wanted to collaborate with others due to the diversity of their motivations and interests. As introduced previously, both had access to different resources and needed the respective other for different purposes: Naja had contact to the tourists and was an established incoming tour operator, but she had no access to the places and buildings she needed to diversify her tourism palette. Aviaja, in turn, had access to these historical and cultural places, but she had no contacts or connections to tourists or foreign tour operators. By cooperating, both practitioners would have received access to the external resources of the other through the established relations. In so doing, they could have taken advantage of the synergy effects this collaboration would have brought them. Even though both were willing to work together (as essential element of cooperation) and based on the agreement on the advantages such a collaboration would have brought, they did not actually work together; ultimately, no connection was made.

Aansi, the leader of a non-profit organization providing accommodations with a focus on missionary and social work, supports Aviaja's perspective:

> "Essentially, I think it comes down to our human nature. We all want to be kings of our own islands. Over the years I've been here, a better sense of helping each other has developed. When I went to my first meeting at [the local DMC], my initial motivation was to make my organization more

> visible. I soon realized that if we wanted to succeed and achieve the goals we set for ourselves, we needed to establish stronger cooperation among us all here in town. That means that I need to help [name of a local tour operator] or [another tourism actor] to sell their products. We need strong partners. We can't do it on our own" (Aansi, western Greenland, November 2018).

These examples illustrate the significance of cooperation for local practitioners. They also support Gray's (1989) theoretical argument: For practitioners to collaborate, they must share a certain agreement regarding the problem and the need to find a mutual solution for the challenges they face. As these examples of practice also showed, however, collaboration is difficult. In Aviaja's case, the mutual agreement on the potential of cooperating was apparently insufficient and did not automatically result in collaboration. In Aansi's case, the awareness and acknowledgement of the need to work together took time to surface.

Additionally, once the mortar of uniting actors is fabricated and cooperation has been established at some point, this does not mean that collaborative actions are persistent over time. As Nuka, the owner and manager of an incoming agency, pointed out in relation to his work, "we went from cooperation to non-cooperation" (Nuka, southern Greenland, April 2018). This reflects how collaborations shift over time, constantly changing and reopening for negotiation.

6.1.4. NETWORKS

The term "network" is typically defined as a specific set of linkages among tourism actors (Zehrer & Raich, 2010). Based on a "commitment […] to a set of common goals and, quite possibly, the sharing of worldviews" (Dredge, 2006, p. 270). Castells (2000), with his definition of a network as "a set of interconnected nodes" (2000, in Bhat & Milne, 2008 p. 501), underlines the embedment of this collaborative configuration within the social context of the involved actors. These interconnected nodes are relationships connecting multiple actors with one another (Iorio & Corsale, 2014). The base for creating interconnecting relationships are cooperation (see 6.1.3), the willingness to collaborate, and coordination as an element relating and merging various actors (6.1.2). "This 'connectedness' […] gives rise to opportunities for the transfer and sharing of knowledge" (Dredge, 2006, p. 270), which is highly important in terms of enacting tourism on the ground, and, as Björk and Virtanen (2005) argue, of composing the tourism industry. In line with Kokkranikal and Morrison (2011), networks can thus be described as sets of formal or informal relationships, leading to collaborative actions of individual actors, groups of actors, community members, organizations, and governments. Dredge (2006) further specifies that networks can generally operate within as well as outside organizations, between actors directly or indirectly connected to tourism, among different

government agencies, and between regional and national communities. The gerund noun "networking" then refers to how the relationships among tourism actors are managed (Nguyen, Chau, & Vo, 2018), whereas networks form and provide an extensive basis for communication between diverse actors for the sake of enacting tourism.

In the case of Greenland, many research participants seem to support the theoretical line of argumentation by underlining the significance of "connectedness" for practicing tourism. They agree on different occasions in which the personal relationships in this small Arctic society are of outstanding importance. Peter, for example, also supports this argument:

> "It makes a difference if you shook someone's hand, looked them in the eye, and talked to them. Then the next time you have contact with them, it's much better. The understanding and respect for each other is better. Here, personal contact is crucial for us. That's also why I do networking. We need to know each other […] It's through the cooperation, the networks, and one's relationship to others that things are happening. By working together like this, we find ways to do things differently—better—to make things happen. It's the building stone that makes things possible" (Peter, southern Greenland, April 2018).

For Peter, networking establishes a basis for communicating with each other and exploring how people can collaborate together. Here, the established relations are clearly embedded in the local social context. Peter lives in the most southern town on the remote tip of southern Greenland, home to a mere 1,185 inhabitants (Grønlands Statistik, 2020). The remote character of the small community makes social contacts and sustainable relations highly important. Based on these circumstances, I argue that working together is made possible by motivation, engagement, and the willingness of individual practitioners to connect and form relations to each other based on personal connections. As Peter explains, networking is the "building stone that makes things possible" (Peter, April 2018).

Similarly, Luke, an employee of an east-coast incoming agency, comments how:

> "Operations are difficult here. That's why I'm here […] You need someone on location. Someone that knows [the place]. […] You can't hire someone who comes here for a year and then someone else moves in the next

> year.[14] You need connections and networks. You need to understand how important personal relations are and how connections work here. It's complicated, but it comes with living here" (Luke, eastern Greenland, July 2019).

The network to which Luke is referring consists of interconnected nodes that one must discover, engage in, and understand. This only comes with time. If the person is willing to stay for a longer period and to become part of the local community, then collaborations with other local practitioners can be established through networks. This is essentially about creating an understanding and knowledge about the local practices through, as Dredge (2006) has termed it, an inner "connectedness."

Both examples introduced here, as well as the example presented in Publication 1 (see Chimirri, 2020a, pp. 34–35), illustrate networking as "collaborative configuration." The collaborative activity appears in the form of establishing and expanding one's own relations to other actors in the area. In all these cases, the establishment and fostering of the relations between practitioners is central. This aspect constitutes the central element in networking theory (Iorio & Corsale, 2014) and presupposes the willingness and commitment of the involved parties to engage in cooperative actions.

6.2. *INTERLUDE* – "COLLABORATIVE CONFIGURATIONS" ILLUSTRATING COLLABORATION AS PRACTICES

This first part of this analysis chapter shows how collaboration unfolds in practice. The presented findings are based on the workshop held in southern Greenland (presented in Publication 1) and on supplementary fieldwork material from western and eastern Greenland and the Capital Region from between spring 2018 and summer 2019.

Based on the empirical material, it was argued that "collaboration" is neither a singular, static, nor homogenous interactive process; collaboration is created differently through many different practices, often at the same time and in the same place.

[14] Luke is referring here to seasonal workers. While the tourism sector worldwide is characterized by large numbers of seasonal workers, this is not only the case for the tourism sector in Greenland. It also largely characterizes others sectors in Greenland, such as the healthcare and education systems, due to a lack of skilled educated staff.

Even though circumstances (e.g., the lack of organizational structures and required resources, challenging geographical and infrastructural conditions) call for collaboration, and practitioners express the need for it, in order to search for and eventually solve an existing issue, Publication 1 and the additional material introduced here demonstrate:

1. the unlikelihood of the emergence of just one single form of collaboration,
2. that not all of the presented collaborative configurations strive to change, solve, or implement concrete solutions to resolve a problem domain,
3. that collaborations change and shift over time, and
4. that even though agreement on the need for collaboration might exist among practitioners, collaborations do not automatically appear and mean the same to everyone.

Hence, the presented "collaborative configurations" illustrate "collaboration" not only as a complex process; it also constitutes collaboration as a highly flexible, adaptable, and fluid form of interaction among actors, groups, and organizations, leading to multiple parallel collaborative forms (see Chimirri, 2020a). It can also include the absence of collaboration. Seen in this light, collaboration can be more than one thing; it serves multiple purposes for diverse practitioners in terms of manifold goals and ends (see e.g., 6.1.1).

Nevertheless, the contrast between the empirical findings of this dissertation and the common theoretical notion of collaboration does not compromise the significance of collaborative configurations as collaborative action, per se. As Publication 1 and the introduced additional quotes from practitioners in the field show, collaborative configurations are essential and of great significance for practitioners, their daily work, and life in Greenland.

This emphasizes the need to add practical empirical substance from the field to the established theoretical framing of the collaboration concept (Waayers et al., 2012). Moreover, it sets the basis for the argument made in this dissertation regarding the need to use a practice-oriented approach to explore collaboration in the Greenland tourism landscape. The theoretical argument for this presented in Chapter 5 will be empirically substantiated in the following part of the analysis.

6.3. PRACTICING "COLLABORATION"

The analysis above illustrates "collaborative configurations" as specifications for how "collaboration" unfolds differently in diverse heterogeneous practices. It has focused on how collaboration empirically comes into play but has not explored how these practices actually emerge. While Publication 1 mentions and works with "practices," these practices are not explicitly explored as the focus of Publication 1, which was instead on the empirical exploration of collaboration in practice. In Publication 1, it

became apparent that collaborative configurations are created through practices. The findings of Publication 1 therefore highlight the need to investigate and analyze collaboration through a practice-theoretical lens.

Accordingly, Publication 3 picks up where Publication 1 left off by zooming in on "what happens on the ground." These "happenings" were read through a practice-theoretical lens, and the empirical examples were analyzed on the basis of the Shove et al. (2012) practice theory approach. Here, "practices are defined by interdependent relations between materials, competences and meanings" (2012, p. 24; see Chapter 5). The focus is directed toward the *meanings* ascribed by tourism actors to collaboration as part of their daily work life, as well as the question as to which *materials* and *competences* are considered necessary to establish and maintain practices.

Rather than focusing on hypothetical thinking and dreams for the future, publicly expressed probabilities regarding the possible economic and socio-cultural contributions of tourism and the tourism strategies prepared by the government and business consultancies, this dissertation explores and analyzes (in line with Shove et al., 2012) concrete embodied actions on the ground in practice form. Hence, the findings offer empirically based insights into how tourism is concretely practiced and enacted in Greenland through collaborations.

The following analysis is divided into two parts. It starts by describing how shared meaning(s), the access to materials, and present competences lead to the emergence of practices. In contrast, the following analysis illustrates how divergent meaning(s) and the lack of materials and competences lead to the non-emergence of collaborative practices as intended and/or wished for by tourism practitioners. As in the previous part of the analysis, these sections are linked to analytical parts of Publication 3 and supplemented with additional quotes and examples from the fieldwork material.

6.3.1. CONSTITUTIVE ELEMENTS ENABLING PRACTICE(S)

The following sub-section shows how collaborative practices among tourism practitioners emerge through meanings, materials, and competences. The examples and quotes from practitioners underline how constitutive elements enable collaborative practices due to existing and continuously negotiated shared meanings, sufficient access to materials, and the existence of required competences. As argued in Chapter 5, the existence of and connection between the constitutive elements, meaning, materials, and competences are decisive for the emergence and continuance of practices.

In Publication 3 (see Appendix E, p. 163-186), the introduced examples revealed that practitioners shared meanings; or that they at least meet on equal grounds to negotiate them. They have also had sufficient access to necessary materials and the required skilled workforce. All of these aspects have promoted practices leading to the enactment of collaboration among these practitioners. The empirical material supported the argumentation by Shove et al. (2012) that the existence and connection between the three constitutive elements are central to the emergence and maintenance of practices.

With the help of the following life map (see Figure 12) and the interview excerpt from Nuka, who owns and manages an incoming agency in southern Greenland, I introduce how practices come about in this case example.

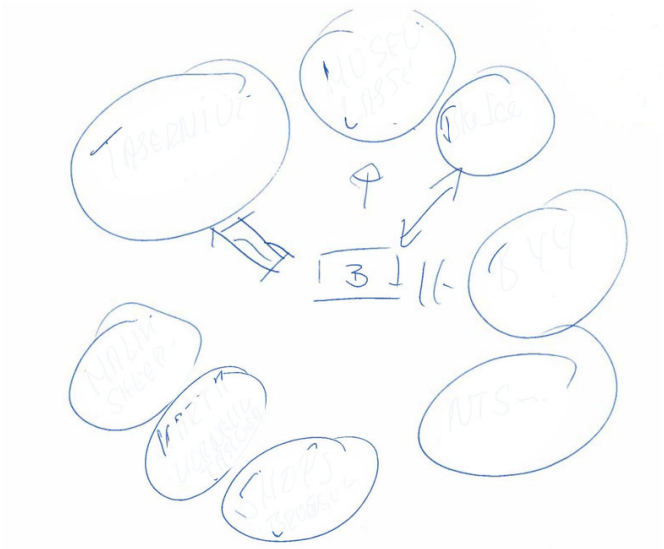

***Figure 12**: Life map of Nuka, representing his collaborations (Nuka, southern Greenland, April 2018)*

> "I'm selling tours. This summer I have a 24-person group coming from Denmark. They asked for tours, accommodations, and services. To be able to sell them what they ask for, I must work together with [a partner]. We help each other if necessary. He calls me and I call him. We've been working together for 20 years. With [this other company next to the café], there's no cooperation. They only think of themselves. They're afraid of us. They make packages, and I tell them that I can sell these packages for them. However, I charge a 10% commission. That's what I do for everyone else. They don't want that […] No collaboration, but it's necessary if we're

> going to make a good tourism destination […] They're thinking too much about money—keep it for yourself and don't share with others. The spirit of cooperation, they don't have it […] We have another guy here in town who just started […] He isn't very organized yet, but he wants to cooperate. It doesn't work yet [because] he isn't experienced enough, [but] it could work. I would buy from him. Then we have the [foreign] company. I work with them a lot. That's the absolute best cooperation I have […] They're very professional. We've been working together for years […] I need to buy from others […] For example, I need to charter boats and buy different other things from other companies. I don't have my own boats" (Nuka, southern Greenland, April 2018).

The arrows in Nuka's life map represent the connections between himself and the other tourism practitioners. He also points out that there are multiple practitioners in the area with whom he has no connections (see the unconnected bubbles on the bottom-left corner of his map). In the interview excerpt, he explains his relations to the other practitioners in the area and why he collaborated or what, from his perspective, has hindered him from working together with certain actors.

The quote illustrates how he depends on others for concrete materials, such as the boats he needs to offer packages to visitors. However, even though it seems as though there are plenty of other tourism actors active in the area, he does not work with everyone, even though he might need them to create certain packages. Nuka only works with tourism actors in the area when doing so makes sense—when they share a similar working spirit about how things should be done. He refers to this as the "spirit of cooperation." In particular, he explains how (in his eyes) one particular tour operator in the area does not have the necessary attitude. They do not agree on what is necessary "to make a good tourism destination" and therefore have not come together to establish any form of collaborative practice. It is also very important for him that his partners exhibit certain competences in the form of experiences in the field, and professionalism on how to fulfill the required working tasks.

The analysis of Nuka's quote in connection with his life map led to the argument that there must be at least some basic common understanding of how tourism should be done and of what is necessary for collaborative practices to emerge. This is a prerequisite for establishing a foundation for negotiations between the actors, creating the basis for concrete collaborative activities. Once this is given, materials and competences in the form of manpower and the like are shared. Nuka has received access to material resources and skilled staff to perform the tours he buys from his partners. He could presumably change how he works, perhaps charging a smaller commission to make himself more attractive to others so that he would receive broader access to necessary resources and materials from others as well. He has not done so, however, as he believes his way of working to be the most efficient

and professional for tourism. Other practitioners in the area share his view, which has enabled collaborative practices; others have rejected Nuka's view, however, which has prevented the emergence of collaborative practices.

The previous example from southern Greenland shows how Nuka's motivation to collaborate is partly to gain access to materials and competences that he lacks. The following example of Felix and his wife from eastern Greenland shows how even though materials (here, in the form of a museum) and competences (referring to an already existing extensive local knowledge of the area and its culture) are already present, Felix and his wife are first and foremost heavily dependent on shared meanings within their own local community. Without a shared belief and interest in what Felix and his wife are doing by building a museum, and through the museum aiming to share knowledge with the local community and visitors, collaborative practices would not occur.

Felix, the co-manager of a museum and husband of the museum's owner and manager in eastern Greenland, describes in the following quote how they collaborate with the local community and tourist operators:

> "The museum started around 50 years ago, with my wife's father collecting objects that you find here. Then he became ill and gave them to [my wife]. First, she put them in boxes, but she had this idea that she wanted to display them to the people who come here to visit. After 4–5 years […] she bought this house and opened the museum. In the beginning […] it was very difficult. She wasn't very good at getting people to come and visit […] Now she works together with [an Icelandic company]. The tourists come and visit the museum. She also offers tours explaining the objects and talking about the area. [We] run the museum in our spare time. It doesn't feed us—It's just a hobby. We know that there are many tourists coming to [the area], but there aren't many places for them to go. My wife wants there to be a place where people can learn about [the area]. She did everything you see here on her own. She's so proud to be from here, and she wants to show it off and to share it with others. Many [locals] are interested—not so much in coming, but in donating things" (Felix, eastern Greenland, July 2019).

Felix emphasizes how working with others is important to receive objects for the museum, as well as to promote the museum, the local area, and its culture. In contrast to the previous example, Felix and his wife are mainly dependent on creating and negotiating shared meanings among the community members. The required access to material resources and competences is sufficiently covered given their intended purposes. The property of the museum is in their possession, as is a large variety of diverse objects from the area. However, even though they already possess cultural objects to display in the museum, Felix underlines in the interview

that they are always happy to receive additional objects from others to preserve the culture and to have an even more diverse collection to display for the visitors. While they do not need local support to physically establish the museum as a cultural institution, they require support to create a lively, interesting place for their visitors—locals and foreigners alike—to drop by.

The quotes from Nuka and Felix also touch on how all three constitutive elements of practices are also essential for the emergence of collaborative practices. In the following, Juupi underlines the importance of the elements of meanings and resources when, in his case, only very specialized competences are available:

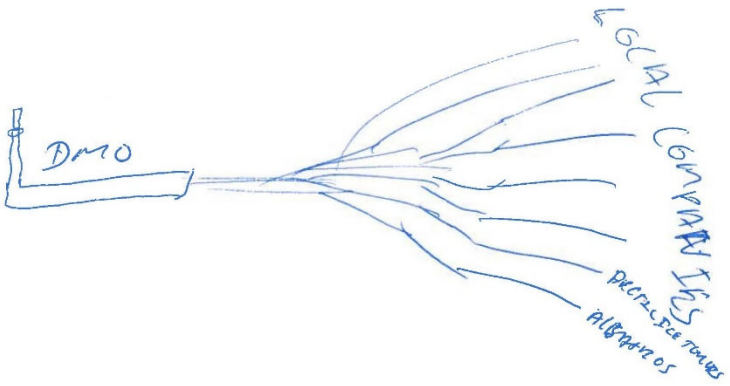

***Figure 13**: Life map of Juupi, representing his view on collaborations (Juupi, western Greenland, March 2019)*

> "We have a lot of different companies here in the area and they all want to develop. They more or less want to move toward the same thing: more tourism […] We have around 40 companies. Many small, local businesses. And they need a lot of knowledge, expertise, and support. That's mainly what we're here for. We provide a lot of advice. That's why I think it's us on the sled [to the left of the map], because we can help them [the sled dogs to the right] to go in the direction they want. The example doesn't work 100%, because not all of them necessarily move in the same direction. That's something that we also need to help them with. If we want more tourism in the area, everyone needs to understand the need to move together. Even though they're competitors, they also need to understand that they need each other to work together to get more tourists. A lot of them don't offer accommodations, and those who do offer accommodations don't necessarily offer tours. And some of those offering tours, like dogsledding, need mushers to do the sledding. The same applies to the operators: They always need to work together. And

> when they do, it actually works better. It isn't me deciding where we're going, even though I drew us on the sled. I need all of these guys [pointing to the ends of the sled ropes on the right side of the map]. If I don't motivate them to work together and they don't want to be part of it, then they go in all kind of directions and don't really move the sled" (Juupi, western Greenland, February 2019).

Juupi is the destination manager of a local DMO in western Greenland, and he is responsible for initiating the development of tourism in the area. He has no concrete material resources himself to develop tourism. As he explains in his own words above, Juupi feels as though he has constantly been engaged in creating and negotiating a mutual understanding of tourism and its development in the area together with the on-site tourism practitioners. As he comments, most of the practitioners "want to develop. They want to move toward (more or less) the same thing, and that's more tourism." He supports them on this journey, sometimes by providing consultancy. According to Juupi, many practitioners do not possess the necessary competences to successfully engage in tourism planning and development. And even though the practitioners seemed to share at least similar goals, namely developing the area to increase tourism, they do not necessarily share the same views on how to do so: not all of the practitioners "necessarily move in the same direction" (as illustrated in Figure 13). In this case, the tourism sled would not be moving anywhere. Based on Juupi's quote and the life map, this inertia would point to a lack of collaborative practices, which in turn impedes the development of tourism. With the help of his professional knowledge of and competences in tourism, Juupi constantly works to create an environment in which practitioners discuss and negotiate meanings in terms of how to develop tourism in the area. This, in turn, is to create the basis upon which the established shared meanings could potentially lead to the purposeful combination of existing resources, leading to collaborative practices enacting the tourism landscape.

Together with their interviews, the life maps that Nuka, Felix, and Juupi draw illustrate the interrelation, interconnection, and dependence of all three constitutive elements. In all three cases, constitutive elements are present to varying extents, depending on the concrete circumstances, situation, and context.

These examples show how practices emerge due to the presence of constitutive elements. These elements or conditions are not stable, however, and even though they may lead to the emergence of practices in the presented cases that does not mean that they always do so in other instances. As already argued in 6.2 in the examination of how collaboration unfolds, practices are situated as well as context-dependent, and the existence of all of the constitutive elements does not automatically lead to the constitution of specific practices; or, in our case: *collaborative* practices. The following section illustrates how a basic lack of elements can hinder or even impede the emergence of collaborative practices.

6.3.2. LACK OF CONSTITUTIVE ELEMENTS HINDERING AND IMPEDING THE EMERGENCE OF COLLABORATIVE PRACTICES

In contrast to the previous sections, this section will show how the lack of constitutive elements can be detrimental to collaborative practices. Publication 3 shows in detail how divergent meanings and the lack of materials and competences negatively influence the emergence and/or maintenance of purposeful collaborative practices (see Appendix E, p. 163-186). In the article, practitioners explicitly express that the other tourism practitioners in the respective areas aspire to diverse understandings of how to work together. For some practitioners, collaborating with others does not appear to be beneficial to their respective practices. Therefore, they also show marginal agreement to a shared vision for the present and future development of tourism in the area. This has rendered it nearly impossible for practitioners to meet and negotiate (a) shared meaning(s) (Appendix E, p. 163 ff.).

In addition to divergent meanings, the material aspects and perceived lack of required competences have influenced the emergence of collaborative practices. For instance, practitioners often refer to the country's geography and the highly challenging circumstances regarding seasonality and the lack of connectivity as a fundamental problem (see also Chapter 2). Practitioners believe that these circumstances heavily influence the establishment of collaborations in the country on the local, regional, and/or national level. Materials, such as the infrastructure connecting places, means of transportation (airplane, helicopter, boat, snowmobile, dogsled), accommodations (hotels, hostels), and food catering options for visitors (restaurants, cafés, etc.) have either fostered, hindered, or even impeded the emergence of collaborative practices. Finally, practitioners also bemoan a lack of competences, in terms of limited education, experience, and professional expertise.

As regards divergent meanings, the earlier example of Nuka (see 6.3.1) has shown how, on the one hand, there is a shared meaning with some of the local practitioners in the area, which has made collaborative practices possible. On the other hand are there also local practitioners who do not (anymore) share Nuka's vision of how to practice tourism in the area. As Nuka explains:

> "I have no collaboration with [name of another practitioner in the area]. We were working together before, but she doesn't like my style anymore, so we don't collaborate anymore" (Nuka, southern Greenland, April 2018).

Luke, who mentions the significance of personal networking relations in section 6.1.4, underlines the complexities and difficulties of establishing and maintaining working relationships with others. Due to the lack of access to certain resources, he

feels he still needs to establish and foster the numerous relations without which he cannot offer his services and products to tourists:

> "We're depending on the locals and their services. However, working with the locals is difficult […] Here, people don't really plan. They live from day to day. Things are difficult to plan with them. We also need to depend on other actors because of that—for example on [partner's name] […] We need him, because we can't be sure that the locals here provide the service when we need it […] Quite a lot of tourism actors are not yet reliable, as we expect it and we need it in terms of running a business. I think it might change with generations and education. There are people who understood the tourism mindset, and they understood how tourism companies need to work. For example, the person that you're going out with tomorrow […] he understands many things that others don't yet understand, but he isn't yet 100% reliable. He's still a hunter. If you put him between the choice of going hunting for a mink whale or driving tourists, he'll dump the tourists" (Luke, eastern Greenland, July 2019).

As Luke describes here, he depends heavily on local providers to supply him with necessary materials and services, and he continuously struggles with the different ways of approaching work with and in tourism. Luke emphasizes that, in his experience, the local practitioners maintain a close connection to their traditional ways of life. This poses challenges to the conventional operation of tourism businesses. In Luke's case, the foreign company for which he has worked plans, packages, and sells day tours on the east coast. They must plan these packages far in advance and need to ensure that sold services and products are indeed delivered to the tourists at the determined point in time.

Luke's statement stands in contrast to how local practitioners appear to approach their everyday lives. The local communities still strive for self-sufficiency, primarily achieved via hunting and fishing, which is a higher priority for them than "driving tourists." This is highly challenging for Luke and other tourism practitioners, who mention similar experiences also in other interviews. Irrespectively, as Luke lacks the necessary materials to provide the services himself, he is dependent on others.

The divergent understandings of tourism and the lack of materials on Luke's side have resulted in collaborative practices being hindered or even impeded. Luke contextualizes the divergent meanings on tourism with reference to cultural aspects. He points to the traditional indigenous way of life in Greenland: being self-sufficient on land and sea by hunting and fishing. This way of life continues in many regions and communities around the country; it remains the ideal way of life for many—more desirable among many practitioners than working with tourists. The opinions on daily life, traditions, and tourism can be very diverse among the practitioners,

which has a major influence on the emerging practices and how tourism develops through collaboration.

Nuila, owner of a small west-coast business, also states that different approaches and attitudes to tourism could potentially make collaborations impossible. In contrast to Luke, however, Nuila attributes the different approaches to tourism to individualistic, highly competitive, and solely business-inspired ways of thinking:

> "I spent a lot of time trying to establish collaborations […] However, as we're not working well together in the area and people keep coming in from the outside, it's easier to stop […] When you have built a new concept, promoted it, and branded it […] and then every company here wants to do it as well, it's frustrating. They didn't develop the idea, but they've seen me doing it successfully for two years, so now they want to do it as well—but by themselves […] [People] don't understand that you can't do everything on your own. You have to be part of a community to accomplish things […]. That's what I find so annoying in Greenland. You want to take from another person, but you don't really nurture and respect it. Is this the attitude you want to show your fellow humans and your children? Is this how we do business in Greenland? We don't sit down and talk with one another in a respectful manner. We don't realize that others have a sustainable business and make money. We need to think about how we keep this and still develop [the areas further]. Instead, we do business by stepping on others and cutting their legs out from under them. Then we step on them and take what they have, because we want it. Sometimes I have the feeling that this is the idea we have in Greenland and we don't really see how ugly it is. Instead of sitting together and finding a solution, we just take from each other and copy […] I don't think it's typical Greenlandic—I think it's typical when it comes to money" (Nuila, western Greenland, November 2018).

As Nuila sees it, an egocentric vision of tourism has led to fragmentation, characterized by competition and envy, which in turn has prevented the emergence of any purposeful practices that might have nourished, sustained, and potentially developed the existing tourism landscape. The life map of Nuila's husband (see Figure 14), Joas, who was interviewed together with her, illustrates their opinions on the local situation and how tourism is practiced through collaboration:

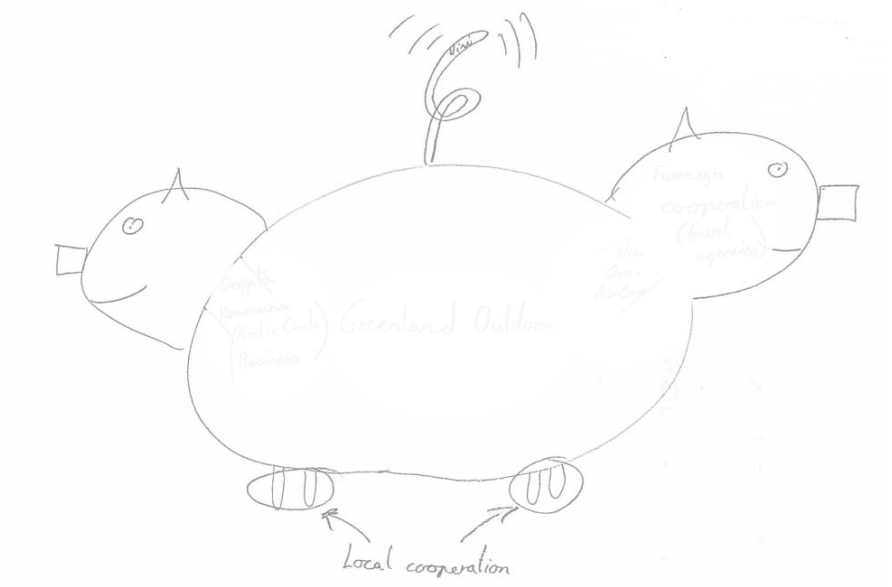

***Figure 14**: Life map of Joas, representing his visualization of collaborations (Joas, western Greenland, November 2019)*

Joas explained that, for him, the body of the creature represents the local tourism landscape in which he and Nuila work. The two heads symbolize the different opinions of the diverse local practitioners on where to go. This basically pulls the creature in at least two opposite directions. The creature stands on very small legs relative to its body size, rendering movement to either side almost impossible, and it can be assumed that the creature has trouble standing on these tiny legs for any length of time. Joas explains that the tail on top of the creature was his wife, Nuila. According to Joas, Nuila is constantly trying to connect and network with others, aiming to sense the atmosphere and what others would like to do. However, she is still part of the present "body" of tourism in the area. Her attachment to the creature, representing only a small part of it, strongly limits her options to change how tourism is practiced in the area.

The quotes from Luke and Nuila illustrate how friction in the constitutive element of meaning highly influence the emergence of collaborative practices. Luke's quote refers to a different way of life that influences the approach to tourism and the significance that practitioners attribute to tourism. In Nuila's statement, complemented by Joas' life map, a highly competitive way of thinking disrupts a mutual approach to thinking tourism together for the benefit of everyone in the area. As the practitioners do not aspire to similar visions of how tourism should operate, they do not consider working together as useful or even meaningful for them. This has affected the emergence of collaborative practices to the point that

such practices have not emerged at all. Obviously, this has in turn had a major impact on the practice of tourism in the area.

The access to resources and differing meanings were not alone in having a strong influence here. Nuka previously mentioned an important aspect in relation to competences (see 6.3.1), which has yet to be elaborated further. Here, he explained how his experiences in the sector are a prerequisite for him to feel comfortable working with other practitioners. Nuka specifically refers to "another guy here in town who just started […] He isn't very organized yet, but he wants to cooperate. It doesn't work yet [because] he isn't experienced enough, [but] it could work. I would buy from him" (Nuka, southern Greenland, April 2018). Competences achieved through work experiences in the field create the basis for purposefully working together. Nuka recognizes the other practitioner's ambitions, and once the other became more experienced, Nuka saw the potential for collaboration in the future.

Similarly, Laasi, the manager of a cultural institution on the east coast, referred to language barriers and the need to move away from home at a very young age to pursue an education as two factors that are important to consider. The acquisition of a formal education (including a diploma from high or upper secondary school) is regarded fundamental by multiple tourism practitioners for the establishment of collaborative practices (see Publication 3, Appendix E, p. 218-248 and section 6.3.1). But the existing language-related communication barriers and the fact that many young people are reluctant to move away from their home village make it difficult to acquire the expected competences:

> "In tourism and every other commercial venture, the lack of education is the number one challenge. For example, people here speak Eastern Greenlandic. That's a dialect, officially speaking. The dialects differ so much from each other that East and West Greenlanders can't understand each other. If you're 15 years old and you want to get your high school diploma, you have to go to the west coast. People there speak a different language than you do, and you have to take the education in this different language. That's an obstacle that most people can't cope with. You also have to leave home when you're only 15 years old and move hundreds of km away. That's also a big challenge. How can we expect people to do that "just" to get an education?" (Laasi, eastern Greenland, July 2019).

Laasi is referring here to the challenges that East Greenlanders must overcome to acquire a formal education. The main institutions for higher education beyond the 10th grade, such as Ilisimatusarfik, the University of Greenland, or the vocational school, Campus Kujalleq, are located in Nuuk and Qaqortoq (in southern Greenland). West Greenlandic is spoken here, which is very different from the dialect on the east coast. This poses an immense obstacle for those from other regions who want to pursue an education. On top of the linguistic difficulties, merely having to move to

another city to get an education is a major barrier for many. So there are multiple challenges, and they can be daunting for many young people. Because of these barriers, many refrain from aiming for a higher degree. This, in turn, drastically influences and often impedes the acquisition of tourism-relevant competences. This lack of competences inhibits the emergence of collaborative practices.

As Nuka and Laasi state, competences are crucial and represent constitutive elements of practices in Greenland. These elements range from formal degrees, to the practical knowledge, skills, expertise, and know-how acquired from working in the field. Both have enabled the practitioners to engage in and carry out collaborative practices. If required competences do not yet exist (as in the example of Nuka and his potential collaborator), practitioners should be (in the practitioners' eyes, at least) willing to acquire competences to initiate and/or become part of already existing collaborative practices.

The analysis above and the one presented in Publication 3 (Appendix E, p. 163-186) show how the limited access to and subsequent lack of materials, divergent meanings regarding the use- and meaningfulness of collaborating with each other, as well as missing competences (apparently independent of the reason for why they are missing) hinder or even impede the emergence of collaborative practices in Greenland. This has strongly affected the opportunities to practice tourism.

It also becomes apparent that the three constitutive elements cannot be considered in isolation. The quotes from practitioners reveal how a combination of more than one element often (but not always) influence the emergence of collaboration. They relationally influence the emergence of practices and should be regarded in their situated contextuality. This refers back to the argument already made in the end of 6.3.1: Practices are situated and contextual. The lack of one or more constitutive elements does not automatically impede the emergence of all collaborative practices.

6.4. *A TEMPORARILY CONCLUDING INTERLUDE* – TOWARD A PRACTICE-THEORETICAL TAKE ON EXPLORING COLLABORATION

The analysis of collaborative tourism practices in Greenland through a practice-theoretical lens in section 6.3 offers a situated and empirically grounded approach to collaboration, which is in line with the project's overall phronetic methodology of valuing practical knowledge. By zooming in and staying with concrete examples from the field, a concretized understanding of how tourism is practiced on the ground is created—a tourism that is practiced as part of everyday life by a broad variety of practitioners, individually or organized in collectives.

Sub-sections 6.3.1 and 6.3.2 show how collaborative practices emerge due to the presence of context-specific constitutive elements; and how they do not come about or do so incompletely when elements are missing or their connections to each other are disrupted.

It is important to underline that the presented conditions leading to the emergence of practices are not static. While they lead to the emergence of collaborative practices in some of the presented cases, this does not mean that they will necessarily lead to collaborative practices in other instances. Just as argued in the analysis in 6.2, collaborative practices are situated and contextual. Similarly, the existence of all constitutive elements does not automatically constitute *collaborative* practices, nor does the lack of one or more constitutive elements automatically impede the emergence of collaborative practices.

Based on the material from my fieldwork in Greenland, it also became apparent that the three constitutive elements cannot be viewed in isolation from one another. They relationally influence the emergence of practices in context-dependent ways. Just like all other practices, collaborative practices are co-constitutive and dynamic: They constantly emerge, shift, and disappear, leading to the establishment, adjustment, and disappearance of bundles of heterogeneous practices—in other words: of collaboration. These practices enable and form the tourism field by continuously connecting, holding together, recreating, and reshuffling the different practitioners and materials (James et al., 2018).

To conclude this concluding interlude, this dissertation argues for an understanding of collaboration as multiple and entangled complexes of practices. This challenges the widespread instrumental-managerial and mainly theoretically grounded notion of collaboration as a strategic tool for tourism planning and development (as introduced in Chapter 4). Moreover, arguing for tourism as complexes of practices calls for tourism research approaches that depart from exploring how tourism is actually and practically carried out in everyday life; or, in other words, how tourism is practiced by practitioners on the ground.

CHAPTER 7 – CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS: STUDYING TOURISM IN GREENLAND THROUGH COLLABORATION

The presented publications and the additional empirical material introduced and discussed contribute in various ways and to different extents to answering the initial research question about how tourism in Greenland is practiced through collaboration. Publication 2 illustrates the life mapping exercise as a methodological tool to co-create the knowledge and understanding of collaborations in Greenland, whereas Publication 1 primarily shows how collaborations unfold in practice. By turning to a practice-theoretical take as analytical frame, Publication 3 explores how collaborations emerge as and through practices. These collaborative practices constitute the tourism landscape in Greenland.

All of the individual publications, together with the analyses of the additional empirical material in this dissertation, contribute to creating an understanding of what collaboration is and what it does for practitioners in Greenland. These analyses constitute the foundation for this last chapter of the dissertation. Here, the discussion will focus on what can be inferred from the findings in terms of:

- What do the findings imply for the theoretical concept of collaboration when exploring collaboration as practice?
- How do they influence our understanding of tourism when examining tourism as practice more generally?
- How might practice theory approaches in tourism research initiate a shift in our understanding of tourism-related phenomena more broadly?

7.1. THE COLLABORATION CONCEPT IN PRACTICE - IMPLICATIONS

The analysis above has revealed the ambiguities of using the term “collaboration” to capture practice. It has underlined how collaboration is neither a clearly delimited activity that characterizes one specific way of working together; a “strategic tool” that can be implemented simply to plan and develop tourism; nor is it a phenomenon to streamline different activities, initiated and upheld by the multiple and diverse tourism actors involved, to achieve the best possible results and benefits for each one of them.

As theoretically argued in Chapters 4 and 5 and empirically illustrated in Chapter 6, scholars and practitioners both regard collaboration as key to tourism; nevertheless, many tourism researchers and practitioners still argue for a managerial approach to and strategic use of collaboration. If solely understood instrumentally, as a “tool for achieving a goal,” however, collaboration and its potentials in tourism—in research and practice—become heavily truncated. As an alternative, the analysis of

collaboration in Chapter 6 introduced situated "collaborative configurations" and thereby disclosed how differently "collaboration" unfolds as practice, and how these forms of collaboration contribute to the enactment of tourism in Greenland. Even though "collaboration" emerges here as a messy, chaotic, and sometimes even confusing process, established through diverse and heterogeneous practices, it still holds potential and yields benefits for practitioners.

The emerging "collaborative configurations" are essential for enacting the daily practices of tourism actors in Greenland; accordingly, they are regarded as strongly significant to them. All of the emerging collaborations in the form of different collaborative configurations appear simultaneously, and they continuously affect, complement, and/or contradict each other at the same time—depending on how and from where in practice one contributes (Chimirri, 2020a). They fulfil certain (but also very different) purposes for each of the respective practitioners. Despite being involved in the "same" collaborative activity, this shows how it often means something very different for each individual practitioner (e.g., 6.1.1).

Based on these initial empirical findings and given the continuous development of the subject matter of a phronetically minded research methodology, this dissertation has come to propose a practice-theoretical take in order to study and understand tourism through collaboration as an empirical phenomenon. Such an approach seeks to understand and study the tourism phenomenon through the concept of collaboration, ideally in its complexities, its variations, and its contextuality. It focuses on "collaboration" as a concrete phenomenon, the expressions of which are as multifaceted as its practitioners, which must be worked with in situated, locally unique ways to understand how tourism is practiced in the respective contexts.

7.2. TOURISM IN GREENLAND AS PRACTICE

Based on the empirical findings of the analysis, tourism emerges as an amalgam; an aggregate of multiple collaborative practices comprised of materials such as physical objects and meanings (e.g., opinions, perspectives, visions and missions, and competences in the form of knowledge, expertise, skills etc.). These elements must purposefully interrelate to establish collaborative practices that enact tourism. Even though these bundles of practices present a coherent entity in the eyes of the tourists in the form of tourism as a whole or a tourism product in specific, these bundles always consist of complexly intertwined, multifarious practices. Tourism should therefore be regarded as a "field of practices" (Warde, 2014, p. 285) that, accordingly, ought to be studied through the lens of practice theory.

The empirical investigations presented in this project and the resulting publications support this argumentation. By regarding tourism in Greenland as a "field of collaborative practices," the emerging understanding of what happens on the ground contributes to a more situated and contextually appropriate, more complex,

and therefore more practically relevant understanding of tourism in Greenland. Returning to the life map presented at the very beginning of this dissertation (see Chapter 1), a practice theoretical lens could help us to create an understanding of why there are connecting pieces holding parts of the mirror (i.e., the tourism landscape) together, and why there are also loose and unconnected parts. Here, practice theory helps us to identify gaps between the constitutive elements of meanings, materials, and competences, which prevent practices from emerging. These gaps hinder the establishment of collaborations, which in turn impedes the forming and functioning of the tourism landscape. By becoming aware of potentially emerging or already existing gaps, we can address them and tackle them concretely together with the respective practitioners. This would create a much more stable and sustainable foundation for continuously discussing and concretely collaborating on tourism development and planning in and for Greenland.

7.3. PRACTICE THEORY FOR TOURISM: INITIATING CHANGE IN OUR UNDERSTANDING OF THE TOURISM PHENOMENA

James et al. (2018) already accounted for the increasing interest and acknowledgement of practice theories in tourism research. However, they also call for a further engagement in, application, and recognition of practice-theoretical takes in tourism studies. The current body of tourism literature merely represents a starting point (cf. also Lamers & Pashkevich, 2018).

As Nicolini (2012) has argued, "practice theories do more than just describe what people do. Practices are, in fact, meaning-making, identity-forming, and order-producing activities" (2012, p. 7), and they "steer away from the misleading idea that by simply observing the activities of the world in more detail, one gets closer to 'reality'" (2012, p. 7). By looking through the lens of practice theory, one can argue that tourism is practiced in everyday life by a variety of dispersed individual tourism actors and tourism collectives; and that the phenomenon of collaboration in tourism must be understood from within practice, or more specifically: from within the practitioners' everyday lives, including the interplay of meanings, materials, and competences in everyday life.

This not only conceptually challenges the widespread instrumental notion of collaboration as a strategic tool for tourism planning and development, it also empirically challenges the notion of how tourism is represented, discussed, and conceived of—namely first and foremost as an economic tool that is primarily for creating wealth and prosperity in Greenland, thereby supposedly paving a path to "independence."

In their book *Prospects for Polar Tourism*, Snyder and Stonehouse (2007) call for a change in polar tourism. In this second edited collection dealing with polar tourism

issues (after the one edited by Hall and Johnston in 1995), aspects of the planning, development, and management of polar tourism are discussed, highlighting environmental issues as well as the disputable economic role that tourism can play in Arctic regions around the world. Here, Snyder and Stonehouse (2007) argue that "tourism does not merely occur; it transforms the regions within which it occurs, catalysing changes in environment, economics and culture, and affecting decisions regarding their use and management" (2007, p. x). These fundamental aspects appear to be largely overlooked in Greenland (see Chapter 2).

Notwithstanding, initiatives that attempt to break with such one-sided views of tourism are slowly emerging, in theory and in practice. One example of an attempt at turning away from these one-sided economically exploitational understandings of tourism was the conference "Toward More Tourism" (TMT), which took place in the autumn of 2018 in Nuuk. By inviting and actively involving as many interested tourism practitioners from all over Greenland as possible, the purpose of the conference was to showcase, inspire, and create discussions about the current and future tourism development in Greenland (Visit Greenland & AirGreenland, 2018). The presentations and discussions in the conference between and among the diverse conference participants reflected the strong interest in tourism, which is owing to its past growth and promising future, which is believed to increase the gross domestic product. Based on the TMT conference and reflecting on the past, present, and possible futures of tourism in Greenland, Ren and Chimirri (2018b) argue that it is necessary to create a thorough understanding of the relations between tourism, society, culture, and the environment of Greenland. A situated and context-dependent, practice-theoretical understanding of tourism in Greenland could hopefully inspire and contribute to moving political and public approaches to tourism and its future developments, beyond a vision of tourism as mere economic resource. This could perhaps disenchant tourism as a magic wand, and most importantly open up for a more holistic, bottom-up, phronetically inspired approach toward tourism.

"Tourism and Quality of Life in Greenland: Exploration through Farm Stays in South Greenlandic settlements," an article by Steenholdt and Chimirri (2018), for instance, views tourism in its broader societal context and meaningfulness for everyday life. As they argue, "within the tourism related debates in Greenland, public discussions beyond the point of economy and its monetary significance for the country as well as research on the role of tourism in socio- economic dimensions for the Greenlandic people are scarce" (2018, p. 2). This publication therefore offers empirical insights into the role that tourism is already playing in Greenland, even though this tends to be neglected by the political and public spheres. It shows that tourism touches upon multiple aspects of life, calling for a holistic approach to this sector. It also shows that studies on how development impacts the residents' quality of life (QoL) in Greenland focus heavily on the traditional sectors of fisheries and mining, neglecting the emerging tourism industry and its significance to the national economy. Even though

tourism is praised as having developed into Greenland's third economic sector (see Chapter 2), it does not receive the same attention in terms of its social, cultural, and economic influence on the Greenlandic society. To contribute to filling this knowledge gap, the article explores the relationship between tourism and the daily work on existing farms in southern Greenland. It investigates how tourism interrelates with the residents' QoL in this area (Steenholdt & Chimirri, 2018), and findings from its exploratory case study suggest that there is a close interrelation between farm tourism and residents' QoL in southern Greenland: Farm tourism provides farmers with the opportunity for a self-sustaining lifestyle, contributing to their QoL and well-being.

As the publication set out as an exploratory case study in this specific area, focusing on farm stays as a tourism activity, the publication does not go as far as to investigate the larger perspective of tourism and its multiple, entangled, and complex relations to society, culture, and the environment. However, it invites that we start thinking of tourism in Greenland as that which Higgins-Desbiolles (2006) and Jóhannesson (2016) call a "social force:" A force that initiates societal change and expands not only the value of Arctic tourism in economic terms, but also in socio-cultural and environmental aspects. In order to do so, Ren and Chimirri (2018a) argue in an online publication, "Arctic Tourism: More than an industry?", that it is essential to create a deeper understanding of how tourism takes place. The dissertation in hand originally intended to contribute to such an understanding by showing how tourism in Greenland is enacted through collaborative practices. A practice-theoretical take is considered to hold the potential to actively motivate and enable practitioners and researchers to mutually develop socio-culturally, ecologically, and economically sustainable collaborations, so as to work together on meaningful tourism futures in and for Greenland. Such a practical, situated approach to doing research with practitioners could trigger a shift in our understanding of the social and organizational tourism phenomenon in general and in Greenland specifically.

A work in progress publication by Ren and Chimirri (accepted by Polar Record) takes up this thread, aiming to further provoke our perception and understanding of the tourism phenomena. In this article, tentatively entitled "Tourism worlding: On collective becoming in East Greenland," Ren and Chimirri explore tourism and its development as an ongoing becoming with the world. This publication describes the current development of tourism on the east coast and its entanglement with the community; with its concerns and its collaborations. By drawing on Haraway's (2016) concept of worlding, the article illustrates and discusses how tourism can be reconceptualized in a manner that accounts for the ontological complexity of tourism, while at the same time not succumbing to unwarranted reductions and simplifications. By turning away from finding "the right way" to "fix" tourism, Ren and Chimirri embrace the troublesome nature of tourism. In so doing, binary narratives that either praise or doom tourism—or the communities in which it takes place—are countered.

Inspired by the phronetic research approach and in connection with the work of Donna Haraway (2016), this dissertation deliberately “ends” here, at the same time hoping to initiate further discussions on how to talk about and re-think tourism in Greenland, as well as collaboration theory, practice theory, and tourism studies more generally.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Aalborg University. (2018). Sustainable business and demography: Exploring critical links between gender youth and small-scale business development in fisheries and tourism in South Greenland. Retrieved from https://vbn.aau.dk/da/projects/sustainable-business-and-demography-exploring-critical-links-betw

Aas, C., Ladkin, A., & Fletcher, J. (2005). Stakeholder collaboration and heritage management. *Annals of Tourism Research*, *32*(1), 28–48. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.annals.2004.04.005

AAU Arctic. (2017). New research project: Sustainable business and demography: Exploring critical links between gender youth and small-scale business development in fisheries and tourism in South Greenland. Retrieved from https://www.arctic.aau.dk/news/news/new-research-project---sustainable-business-and-demography--exploring-critical-links-between-gender-youth-and-small-scale-business-development-in-fisheries-and-tourism-in-south-greenland.cid331440

Adu-Ampong, E. A. (2017). Divided we stand: institutional collaboration in tourism planning and development in the Central Region of Ghana. *Current Issues in Tourism*, *20*(3), 295–314. https://doi.org/10.1080/13683500.2014.915795

Alonso, A. D., Kok, S., & O'Brien, S. (2018). Sustainable culinary tourism and Cevicherías: a stakeholder and social practice approach. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, *26*(5), 812–831. https://doi.org/10.1080/09669582.2017.1414224

Altinay, L., Paraskevas, A., & Jang, S. S. (2008). *Planning Research in Hospitality and Tourism.* Oxford, United Kingdom: Routledge.

Anciaux, A. (2019). "On Holidays, i Forget Everything. Even my Ecological Footprint": Sustainable tourism through Daily Practices or Compartmentalisation as a Keyword? *Sustainability*, *11*(17). https://doi.org/10.3390/su11174731

Arnaboldi, M., & Spiller, N. (2011). Actor-network theory and stakeholder

collaboration: The case of Cultural Districts. *Tourism Management*, *32*(3), 641–654. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tourman.2010.05.016

Associated Press. (2019). Danish PM: Trump's Idea of Buying Greenland "Absurd." Retrieved November 20, 2020, from https://www.voanews.com/europe/danish-pm-trumps-idea-buying-greenland-absurd

Azizpour, F., & Fathizadeh, F. (2016). Barriers to collaboration among tourism industry stakeholders. Case study: Mashhad Metropolis. *Almatourism - Journal of Tourism, Culture and Territorial Development*, *7*(13), 48–65. https://doi.org/10.6092/issn.2036-5195/5991

Baggio, R. (2011). Collaboration and cooperation in a tourism destination: A network science approach. *Current Issues in Tourism*, *14*(2), 183–189. https://doi.org/10.1080/13683500.2010.531118

Bargeman, B., Richards, G., & Govers, E. (2018). Volunteer tourism impacts in Ghana: a practice approach. *Current Issues in Tourism*, *21*(13), 1486–1501. https://doi.org/10.1080/13683500.2015.1137277

Barry, K. (2017). Diagramming: A creative methodology for tourist studies. *Tourist Studies*, *17*(3), 328–346. https://doi.org/10.1177/1468797616680852

Bhat, S. S., & Milne, S. (2008). Network effects on cooperation in destination website development. *Tourism Management*, *29*(6), 1131–1140. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tourman.2008.02.010

Björk, P., & Virtanen, H. (2005). What tourism project managers need to know about co-operation facilitators. *Scandinavian Journal of Hospitality and Tourism*, *5*(3), 212–230. https://doi.org/10.1080/15022250510014354

Bjørst, L. R., & Ren, C. (2015). Steaming Up or Staying Cool? Tourism Development and Greenlandic Futures in the Light of Climate Change. *Arctic Anthropology*, *52*(1), 91–101. Retrieved from http://web.b.ebscohost.com.subzero.lib.uoguelph.ca/ehost/pdfviewer/pdfviewer?vid=0&sid=82b36cd7-1e64-4f33-9633-51f09056bfe2%40sessionmgr103

Bramwell, B., & Lane, B. (2000a). Collaboration and Partnerships in Tourism Planning. In B. Bramwell & B. Lane (Eds.), *Tourism Collaboration and Partnerships: Politics, Practice and Sustainability* (pp. 1–19). Bristol: Channel View Publications.

Bramwell, B., & Lane, B. (2000b). *Tourism Collaboration and Partnerships. Politics, Practice and Sustainability*. Bristol: Channel View Publications.

Bramwell, B., & Sharman, A. (1999). Collaboration in local tourism policymaking. *Annals of Tourism Research*, *26*(2), 392–415. https://doi.org/10.1016/S0160-7383(98)00105-4

Campus Kujalleq. (2014). Om Skolen. Retrieved from http://cak.gl/skolen/

Chacko, H. (1996). Positioning a tourism destination to gain a competitive edge. *Asia Pacific Journal of Tourism Research*, *1*(2), 69–75. https://doi.org///doi.org/10.1080/10941669708721976

Chimirri, D. (n.d.). Stories from Greenland. My travels through the PhD. Retrieved from https://storiesfromgreenland.jimdofree.com/?preview_sid=497530

Chimirri, D. (2020a). Collaborative configurations of tourism development: a Greenlandic example. *Journal of Tourism Futures*, *6*(1), 24–39. https://doi.org/10.1108/JTF-01-2019-0006

Chimirri, D. (2020b). Life Mapping: A collaborative approach to tourism collaboration in Greenland. In A. M. Hansen & C. Ren (Eds.), *Collaborative Methods in Arctic Research: Experiences from Greenland* (pp. 97–116). Abingdon: Routledge.

Christensen, T. (1992). Greenland wants tourism. *Polar Record*, *28*(164), 62–63.

Connell, J., & McManus, P. (2019). Flower viewing from horseback? New directions in Chinese tourism in Australia. *Australian Geographer*, *50*(3), 333–347. https://doi.org/10.1080/00049182.2019.1591568

Cumbers, A., Mackinnon, D., & Chapman, K. (2003). Innovation, collaboration, and learning in regional clusters: A study of SMEs in the Aberdeen oil complex. *Environment and Planning A*, *35*(9), 1689–1706.

https://doi.org/10.1068/a35259

de Araujo, L. M., & Bramwell, B. (2002). Partnership and regional tourism in Brazil. *Annals of Tourism Research*, *29*(4), 1138–1164. https://doi.org/10.1016/S0160-7383(02)00033-6

Dolan, R., Seo, Y., & Kemper, J. (2019). Complaining practices on social media in tourism: A value co-creation and co-destruction perspective. *Tourism Management*, *73*(January), 35–45. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tourman.2019.01.017

Dredge, D. (2006). Policy networks and the local organisation of tourism. *Tourism Management*, *27*(2), 269–280. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tourman.2004.10.003

Dredge, D. (2011). Phronetic Tourism Planning Research: Reflections on critically engaged tourism planning research and practice. *IV International Critical Tourism Studies (CTS) Conference 2011, Tourism Futures: Creative and Critical Action*. Cardiff, Wales, United Kingdom.

Egmose, J. (2016). *Action Research for Sustainability. Social Imagination Between Citizens and Scientists*. Routledge, Abingdon.

Elo, S., & Kyngäs, H. (2008). The qualitative content analysis process. *Journal of Advanced Nursing*, *62*(1), 107–115. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1365-2648.2007.04569.x

Everett, J., & Jamal, T. B. (2004). Multistakeholder Collaboration as Symbolic Marketplace and Pedagogic Practice. *Journal of Management Inquiry*, *13*(1), 57–78. https://doi.org/10.1177/1056492603261042

Flyvbjerg, B. (2001). *Making social science matter: Why social inquiry fails and how it can succeed again*. Cambridge University Press.

Flyvbjerg, B. (2004). Phronetic Planning Research: Theoretical and Methodological Reflections. *Planning Theory & Practice*, *5*(3), 283–306.

Flyvbjerg, B. (2005). Social science that matters. *Foresight Europe*, 38–42. Retrieved from https://www.cambridge.org/core/product/identifier/CBO9780511810503A019/type/book_part

Flyvbjerg, B. (2006). Making Organization Research Matter: Power, Values, and Phronesis. In S. R. Clegg, C. Hardy, T. B. Lawrence, & W. R. Nord (Eds.), *The SAGE Handbook of Organization Studies* (pp. 370–387). https://doi.org/10.4135/9781848608030.n11

Gajda, R. (2004). Utilizing collaboration theory to evaluate strategic alliances. *American Journal of Evaluation*, *25*(1), 65–77. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ameval.2003.11.002

Gray, B. (1985). Conditions Facilitating Interorganizational Collaboration. *Human Relations*, *38*(10), 911–936.

Gray, B. (1989). *Collaborating: Finding common ground for multiparty problems*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Inc.

Gray, B., & Wood, D. J. (1991). Collaborative Alliances: Moving from Practice to Theory. *The Journal of Applied Behavioral Science*, *27*(1), 3–22.

Grønlands Statistik. (2020). *Grønland i tal 2020*.

Hall, C. M. (1999). Rethinking collaboration and partnership: A public policy perspective. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, *7*(3–4), 274–289. https://doi.org/10.1080/09669589908667340

Hall, C. M., & Johnston, M. E. (1995). *Polar Tourism. Tourism In The Arctic And Antarctic Regions*. John Wiley & Sons, Inc., West Sussex.

Hall, C. M., & Saarinen, J. (2010). *Tourism and change in polar regions: climate, environments and experiences*. Abingdon: Routledge.

Hansen, A. M., & Ren, C. (2020). *Collaborative Research Methods in the Arctic: Experiences from Greenland* (Routledge). Routledge.

Haraway, D. (2016). *Staying with the trouble. Making kin in the Chthulucene*. Durham: Duke University Press.

Haraway, D. (2018). SF with stengers: Asked for or not, the pattern is now in your hands. *SubStance*, *47*(1), 60–63. Retrieved from https://search.proquest.com/docview/2084403239?accountid=8144

Higgins-Desbiolles, F. (2006). More than an “industry”: The forgotten power

of tourism as a social force. *Tourism Management*, *27*(6), 1192–1208. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tourman.2005.05.020

Hui, A., Schatzki, T. R., & Shove, E. (2017). *The Nexus of Practices. Connections, constellations, practitioners.* Abingdon: Routledge.

Iaquinto, B. L., & Pratt, S. (2020). Practicing sustainability as a backpacker: The role of nationality. *International Journal of Tourism Research*, *22*(1), 100–107. https://doi.org/10.1002/jtr.2321

Instituttet for Fremtidsforskning (IFF). (2013). *Fremtidscenarier for Grønland. Scenariebeskrivelser for Grønland. September 2013*.

Ioannides, D., Nielsen, P. Å., & Billing, P. (2006). Transboundary collaboration in tourism: The case of the Bothnian Arc. *Tourism Geographies*, *8*(2), 122–142. https://doi.org/10.1080/14616680600585380

Iorio, M., & Corsale, A. (2014). Community-based tourism and networking: Viscri, Romania. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, *22*(2), 234–255. https://doi.org/10.1080/09669582.2013.802327

Jamal, T., & Getz, D. (1995). Collaboration theory and community tourism planning. *Annals of Tourism Research*, *22*(1), 186–204.

Jamal, T., & Jamrozy, U. (2006). Collaborative Networks and Partnerships for Integrated Destination Management. In D. Buhalis & C. Costa (Eds.), *Tourism management dynamics: Trends, management and tools* (pp. 164–172). Oxford: Elsevier Butterworth Heinemann.

Jamal, T., & Stronza, A. (2009). Collaboration theory and tourism practice in protected areas: Stakeholders, structuring and sustainability. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, *17*(2), 169–189. https://doi.org/10.1080/09669580802495741

James, L., & Halkier, H. (2016). Regional development platforms and related variety: Exploring the changing practices of food tourism in North Jutland, Denmark. *European Urban and Regional Studies*, *23*(4), 831–847.

James, L., Ren, C., & Halkier, H. (2018). *Theories of practice in tourism* (L. James, C. Ren, & H. Halkier, Eds.). Abingdon: Routledge.

Jin, H., Moscardo, G., & Murphy, L. (2019). Exploring Chinese Outbound Tourist Shopping: A Social Practice Framework. *Journal of Travel Research*. https://doi.org/10.1177/0047287519826303

Jóhannesson, G. T. (2016). A Fish Called Tourism: Emergent Realities of Tourism Policy in Iceland. In R. T. van der Duim, C. Ren, & G. T. Jóhannesson (Eds.), *Tourism Encounters and Controversies: Ontological Politics of Tourism Development.* (pp. 181–200). Farnham, UK: Ashgate.

Johnston, M. E., & Viken, A. (1997). Tourism Development in Greenland. *Annals of Tourism Research*, *24*(4), 978–982. https://doi.org/10.13140/RG.2.1.1788.5044

Jyllands-Posten. (2017). Grønland. *JYLLANDS-POSTEN*, 32.

Kaae, B. C. (2002). Nature and Tourism in Greenland. In A. Watson, L. Alessa, & J. Sproull (Eds.), *Wilderness in the circumpolar north: searching for compatibility in traditional, ecotourism, and ecological values* (pp. 43–53). US Department of Agriculture, Forest Service, Rocky Mountain Research Station.

Kaae, B. C. (2006). Greenland/Kalaallit Nunaat. In G. Baldacchino (Ed.), *Extreme Tourism: Lessons from the World's Cold Water Islands* (pp. 101–114). Amsterdam: Elsevier.

Kemmis, S., McTaggart, R., & Nixon, R. (2013). *The action research planner: Doing critical participatory action research. Springer Science & Business Media.* Berlin: Springer Science & Business Media.

Kemmis, Stephen. (2009). Action research as a practice-based practice. *Educational Action Research*, *17*(3), 463–474. https://doi.org/10.1080/09650790903093284

Kesby, M. (2000). Participatory diagramming: Deploying qualitative methods through an action research epistemology. *Area*, *32*(4), 423–435. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1475-4762.2000.tb00158.x

Kesby, M., Kindon, S., & Pain, R. (2005). "Participatory" approaches and diagramming techniques. In R. Flowerdew & D. Martin (Eds.), *Methods in Human Geography. A guide for students doing a research project* (pp. 144–165).

Kingdom of Denmark. (2011). *Danmark, Grønland & Færøerne: Kongeriget Danmarks Strategi for Arktis 2011– 2020*.

Kohlbacher, F. (2006). The use of qualitative content analysis in case study research. *Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung/Forum Qualitative Social Research*, *7*(1), 1–30.

Kokkranikal, J., & Morrison, A. (2011). Community networks and sustainable livelihoods in tourism: The role of entrepreneurial innovation. *Tourism Planning and Development*, *8*(2), 137–156. https://doi.org/10.1080/21568316.2011.573914

Ladkin, A., & Bertramini, A. M. (2002). Collaborative tourism planning: A case study of Cusco, Peru. *Current Issues in Tourism*, *5*(2), 71–93. https://doi.org/10.1080/13683500208667909

Lamers, M., Duske, P., & van Bets, L. (2018). Understanding user needs: a practice-based approach to exploring the role of weather and sea ice services in European Arctic expedition cruising. *Polar Geography*, *41*(4), 262–278. Retrieved from https://www.scopus.com/inward/record.uri?eid=2-s2.0-85052339545&doi=10.1080%2F1088937X.2018.1513959&partnerID=40&md5=92fa6ffeed85adfa04a12389c1a9b47b

Lamers, M., & Pashkevich, A. (2018). Short-circuiting cruise tourism practices along the Russian Barents Sea coast? The case of Arkhangelsk. *Current Issues in Tourism*, *21*(4), 440–454. https://doi.org/10.1080/13683500.2015.1092947

Lamers, M., van der Duim, R., & Spaargaren, G. (2017). The relevance of practice theories for tourism research. *Annals of Tourism Research*, *62*, 54–63. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.annals.2016.12.002

Liburd, J. (2018). Understanding collaboration and sustainable tourism development. In *Collaboration for sustainable tourism development* (pp. 8–34).

Liburd, J., & Edwards, D. (2018). *Collaboration for Sustainable Tourism Development* (J. Liburd & D. Edwards, Eds.). Oxford: Goodfellow Publishers Ltd.

Literat, I. (2013). “A pencil for your thoughts”: Participatory drawing as a visual research method with children and youth. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, *12*(1), 84–98. https://doi.org/10.1177/160940691301200143

Loseke, D. R. (2013). *Methodological Thinking: Basic Principles of Social Research Design.* London, United Kingdom: SAGE Publications Ltd.

Maher, P. T. (2017). *The Interconnected Arctic — UArctic Congress 2016*. 213–220. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-57532-2

Marschall, A. (2013). Transforming subjectivity: When aiming for mutually transformative processes in research with children. *Outlines : Critical Practice Studies*, *14*(2), 160–183.

Marschall, A. (2017). When everyday life is double looped. Exploring children’s (and parents’) perspectives on post-divorce family life with two households. *Children and Society*, *31*(5), 342–352. https://doi.org/10.1111/chso.12202

Mayaka, M., Croy, W. G., & Cox, J. W. (2018). Participation as motif in community-based tourism: a practice perspective. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, *26*(3), 416–432. https://doi.org/10.1080/09669582.2017.1359278

McComb, E. J., Boyd, S., & Boluk, K. (2017). *Stakeholder collaboration : A means to the success of rural tourism destinations ? A critical evaluation of the existence of stakeholder collaboration within the Mournes, Northern Ireland*. *17*(3), 286–297. https://doi.org/10.1177/1467358415583738

Medeiros de Araujo, L., & Bramwell, B. (1999). Stakeholder assessment and collaborative tourism planning: The case of brazil’s costa dourada project. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, *7*(3–4), 356–378. https://doi.org/10.1080/09669589908667344

Melvin, J., Winklhofer, H., & McCabe, S. (2020). Creating joint experiences - Families engaging with a heritage site. *Tourism Management*, Vol. 78. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tourman.2019.104038

Ministeriet for Grønland. (1973). *TURISME I GRØNLAND. Betænkning*

udarbejdet af "Udvalget vedrørende turisme i Grønland" for Ministeriet for Grønland 1973.

Morris, J. C., & Miller-Stevens, K. (2016a). *Advancing Collaboration Theory: Models, Typologies, and Evidence* (Vol. 13). New York: Routledge.

Morris, J. C., & Miller-Stevens, K. (2016b). The State of Knowledge in Collaboration. In J. C. Morris & K. Miller-Stevens (Eds.), *Advancing Collaboration Theory: Models, Typologies, and Evidence* (pp. 3–13). Routledge.

Mulford, C. L., & Rogers, D. L. (1982). Definitions and models. In D. L. Rogers & D. A. Whetten (Eds.), *Interorganizational coordination: Theory, research and implementation* (pp. 9–31). Ames: Iowa State University Press.

Naalakkersuisut. (2012). *National Turismestrategi 2012-2015*. Retrieved from http://dk.vintage.nanoq.gl/Emner/Landsstyre/Departementer/Departement_for_erhverv_2013/~/media/2012_efteraar/Turismestrategi_DK_2.ashx

Naalakkersuisut. (2016). *Turismeudvikling i Grønland Hvad skal der til? National sektorplan for turisme 2016-2020*.

Naalakkersuisut. (2020). *Grønlands nationale turismestrategi 2021-2023*.

Nguyen, T. B. T., Chau, N. T., & Vo, L. X. S. (2018). Applying network analysis in assessing stakeholders' collaboration for sustainable tourism development: a case study at Danang, Vietnam. *International Journal of Tourism Policy*, *8*(3), 244–270. https://doi.org/10.1504/ijtp.2018.10015693

Nicolini, D. (2012). *Practice Theory, Work, and Organization: An Introduction.* (D. Nicolini, Ed.). Oxford, UK: Oxford Univeristy PRess.

Nordic Council of Ministers. (2015). Open Call - Nordic Arctic Cooperation Programme 2015-2017. Retrieved from https://www.norden.org/en/news/open-call-nordic-arctic-cooperation-programme-2015-2017

Pain, R., & Francis, P. (2003). Reflections on participatory research. *Area*, *35*(1), 46–54. https://doi.org/10.1111/1475-4762.00109

Parker, S. (1999). Collaboration on tourism policy making: Environmental and commercial sustainability on bonaire, NA. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, *7*(3–4), 240–259. https://doi.org/10.1080/09669589908667338

Parker, S. (2000). Collaboration on tourism policy making: Environmental and commercial sustainability on Bonaire, NA. In B. Bramwell & B. Lane (Eds.). In B. Bramwell & B. Lane (Eds.), *Tourism Collaboration and Partnerships: Politics, Practice and Sustainability* (pp. 78–97). Bristol: Channel View Publications.

Pike, S., & Ryan, C. (2004). Destination positioning analysis through a comparison of cognitive, affective, and conative perceptions. *Journal of Travel Research*, *42*(4), 333–342. https://doi.org/10.1177/0047287504263029

Rambøll. (2014). *Where Can Development Come From? Potentials and pitfalls in Greenland's economic sectors towards 2015*.

Rambøll. (2015). *TURISME - UDVIKLING OG VÆKST GENNEM ÆNDRET LUFTHAVNSSTRUKTUR*.

Rantala, O. (2010). Tourist Practices in the Forest. *Annals of Tourism Research*, *37*(1), 249–264. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.annals.2009.09.003

Rantala, O., Valtonen, A., & Markuksela, V. (2011). Materializing tourist weather: Ethnography on weather-wise wilderness guiding practices. *Journal of Material Culture*, *16*(3), 285–300. https://doi.org/10.1177/1359183511413646

Reckwitz, A. (2002). Toward a theory of social practices: A development in culturalist theorizing. *European Journal of Social Theory*, *5*(2), 243–263.

Reed, M. G. (1999). Collaborative Tourism Planning as Adaptive Experiments in Emergent Tourism Settings. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, *7*(3–4), 331–355. https://doi.org/10.1080/09669589908667343

Ren, C., & Chimirri, D. (2017). *TURISMEUDVIKLING I GRØNLAND - AFDÆKNING OG INSPIRATION*.

Ren, C., & Chimirri, D. (2018a). Arctic Tourism - More than an Industry? | The Arctic Institute. *The Artic Institute* , 1. Retrieved from https://www.thearcticinstitute.org/arctic-tourism-industry/

Ren, C., & Chimirri, D. (2018b). Turisme i Grønland – før, nu og i morgen. *Tidsskriftet Grønland*, *66*(4), 295–302.

Ren, C., Chimirri, D., & Abildgaard, M. S. (2020). *Toward culturally sensitive tourism. Report from Greenland*. Retrieved from https://lauda.ulapland.fi/bitstream/handle/10024/64215/Arctisen_Greenland_report_FINAL.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y

Ren, C., Jóhannesson, G. T., & van der Duim, R. (2018). Co-Creating Tourism Research. In C. Ren, G. T. Jóhannesson, & R. van der Duim (Eds.), *Contemporary Geographies of Leisure, Tourism and Mobility*. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315393223

Sautter, E. T., & Leisen, B. (1999). Managing Stakeholders. A tourism planning model. *Annals of Tourism Research*, *26*(2), 312–328. https://doi.org/10.1016/b978-0-7506-6367-0.50011-0

Schatzki, Theodore R. (1996). *Social Practices: A Wittgensteinian Approach to Human Activity and the Social*. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ Press.

Schatzki, Theodore R. (2019). *Social change in a material world: how activity and material processes dynamize practices*. Abingdon: Routledge.

Schatzki, Theodore R., Knorr Cetina, K., & Von Savigny, E. (2001). *The practice turn in contemporary theory* (T. R. Schatzki, K. Knorr-Cetina, & E. Von Savigny, Eds.). London: Routledge.

Schram, S. (2012). Phronetic social science: an idea whose time has come. In B. Flyvbjerg, T. Landman, & S. Schram (Eds.), *Real social science: Applied phronesis.* (pp. 15–26). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Selin, S. (1999). Developing a Typology of Sustainable Tourism Partnerships. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, *7*(3–4), 260–273. https://doi.org/10.1080/09669589908667339

Selin, S. W., & Myers, N. A. (1998). Tourism marketing alliances: Member satisfaction and effectiveness attributes of a regional initiative. *Journal of Travel and Tourism Marketing*, *7*(3), 79–94. https://doi.org/10.1300/J073v07n03_05

Sermersooq Business Council. (n.d.). Colorful Nuuk. Retrieved from https://colourfulnuuk.com/

Sermitsiaq. (2019). Interviewpersoner efterlyses i Østgrønland. Retrieved November 6, 2020, from Sermitsiag AG website: https://sermitsiaq.ag/node/214845

Shove, E., Pantzar, M., & Watson, M. (2012). The dynamics of social practice: Everyday life and how it changes. In *The Dynamics of Social Practice: Everyday Life and How it Changes*. https://doi.org/10.4135/9781446250655

Shove, E., Watson, M., Hand, M., & Ingram, J. (2007). *The design of everyday life*. Oxford: Berg Publishers.

Smith, A., Robbins, D., & Dickinson, J. E. (2019). Defining sustainable transport in rural tourism: experiences from the New Forest. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, *27*(2), 258–275. https://doi.org/10.1080/09669582.2017.1401633

Snyder, J. M., & Stonehouse, B. (2007). *Prospects for Polar Tourism* (J. M. Snyder & B. Stonehouse, Eds.). CABI.

Sommer, K. (2018). Forskerstuderende søger interviewpersoner i Sydgrønland. Retrieved November 6, 2020, from KNR Kalaallit Nunaata Radioa Greenlandic Broadcasting Corporation website: https://knr.gl/en/node/208750

Sørensen, F., Fuglsang, L., Sundbo, J., & Jensen, J. F. (2020). Tourism practices and experience value creation: The case of a themed attraction restaurant. *Tourist Studies*.

Statistics Greenland. (2017). *Greenland in Figures 2017*.

Statistics Greenland. (2018). *Greenland in Figures 2018*. Retrieved from http://www.stat.gl/publ/en/GF/2018/pdf/Greenland in Figures

2018.pdf

Statistics Greenland. (2019). *Greenland in Figures 2019*. https://doi.org/978-87-998113-0-4

Statistics Greenland. (2020a). Greenland in Figures Greenland 2020. In *Statistics Greenland*. https://doi.org/978-87-998113-0-4

Statistics Greenland. (2020b). Overnight stays. Retrieved November 13, 2020, from https://bank.stat.gl/pxweb/en/Greenland/Greenland__TU__TU30/TUXHOT.px/chart/chartViewColumn/?rxid=TUXFLY13-11-2020 07%3A00%3A39

Steenholdt, N. C., & Chimirri, D. (2018). Tourism and Quality of Life in Greenland: Exploration through farm stays in South Greenlandic settlements. In L. Heininen, H. Exner-Pirot, & J. Plouffe (Eds.), *Arctic Yearbook* (Arctic Dev, pp. 123–140). Retrieved from https://arcticyearbook.com

Stoddart, M. C. J., Catano, G., Ramos, H., Vodden, K., Lowery, B., & Butters, L. (2020). Collaboration gaps and regional tourism networks in rural coastal communities. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, *28*(4), 625–645. https://doi.org/10.1080/09669582.2019.1694526

Timothy, D. J. (1998). Cooperative tourism planning in a developing destination. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, *6*(1), 52–68. https://doi.org/10.1080/09669589808667301

Tommasini, D. (2014). Tourism, Human Capital & Regional Development in Three Communities in Greenland: Ukkusissat, Narsaq and Qaanaaq. *Arctic Yearbook*.

Vernon, J., Essex, S., Pinder, D., & Curry, K. (2005a). Collaborative policymaking: Local sustainable projects. *Annals of Tourism Research*, *32*(2), 325–345. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.annals.2004.06.005

Vernon, J., Essex, S., Pinder, D., & Curry, K. (2005b). Collaborative policymaking. *Annals of Tourism Research*, *32*(2), 325–345. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.annals.2004.06.005

Visit Greenland. (n.d.). Destinations in Greenland. Retrieved from https://visitgreenland.com/destinations/

Visit Greenland. (2020). *Towards more tourism - A joint effort for growth, innovation and responsible tourism. Visit Greenland's marketing and market development strategy 2020-2023*.

Visit Greenland, & AirGreenland. (2018). Towards More Tourism. A conference for the Greenlandic tourism industry. Retrieved May 5, 2020, from https://www.tmt.gl/en/

VisitGreenland. (2016). *Turismestrategi 2016 – 2019*.

Waayers, D., Lee, D., & Newsome, D. (2012). Exploring the nature of stakeholder collaboration: A case study of marine turtle tourism in the Ningaloo region, Western Australia. *Current Issues in Tourism*, *15*(7), 673–692. https://doi.org/10.1080/13683500.2011.631697

Wallenborn, G., & Wilhite, H. (2014). Rethinking embodied knowledge and household consumption. *Energy Research and Social Science*, *1*, 56–64. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.erss.2014.03.009

Wang, Y. (2008). Collabroative Destination Marketing. Understanding the Dynamic Process. *Journal of Travel Research*, *47*(2), 151–166. https://doi.org/10.1177/0047287508321194

Wang, Y., & Fesenmaier, D. R. (2007). Collaborative destination marketing: A case study of Elkhart county, Indiana. *Tourism Management*, *28*(3), 863–875. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tourman.2006.02.007

Warde, A. (2005). Consumption and theories of practice. *Journal of Consumer Culture*, *5*(2), 131–153. https://doi.org/10.1177/1469540505053090

Warde, A. (2014). After taste: Culture, consumption and theories of practice. *Journal of Consumer Culture*, *14*(3), 279–303. https://doi.org/10.1177/1469540514547828

Wennecke, C. W., Jacobsen, R. B., & Ren, C. (2019). Motivations for indigenous island entrepreneurship: Entrepreneurs and behavioral economics in Greenland. *Island Studies Journal*, *14*(2), 43–60. https://doi.org/10.24043/isj.99

Williams, A. P. (2016). The Development of Collaboration Theory Typologies and Systems Approaches. In *Advancing Collaboration Theory: Models, Typologies, and Evidence* (pp. 14–42). New York: Routledge.

Wong, E. P. Y., Mistilis, N., & Dwyer, L. (2011). A model of Asean collaboration in tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research*, *38*(3), 882–899. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.annals.2010.12.008

Wood, D. J., & Gray, B. (1991). Toward a Comprehensive Theory of Collaboration. *The Journal of Applied Behavioral Science*, *27*(2), 139–162. https://doi.org/10.1177/0021886391272001

Xin, S., Tribe, J., & Chambers, D. (2013). Conceptual research in tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research*, *41*, 66–88. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.annals.2012.12.003

Yaghmour, S., & Scott, N. (2009). Inter-organizational collaboration characteristics and outcomes: a case study of the Jeddah Festival. *Journal of Policy Research in Tourism, Leisure and Events*, *1*(2), 115–130. https://doi.org/10.1080/19407960902992175

Zach, F., & Racherla, P. (2011). Assessing the value of collaborations in tourism networks: A case study of Elkhart County, Indiana. *Journal of Travel and Tourism Marketing*, *28*(1), 97–110. https://doi.org/10.1080/10548408.2011.535446

Zehrer, A., & Raich, F. (2010). Applying a lifecycle perspective to explain tourism network development. *Service Industries Journal*, *30*(10), 1683–1705. https://doi.org/10.1080/02642060903580698

APPENDICES

Appendix A. Interview guide

Research participant:	Name: Pseudonym:
Interviewer:	DC - Daniela Chimirri – Aalborg University
Date:	
Location:	
Duration:	

You & your business

- When did you start this job/your business?
- What is your main task?
- Could you describe how a typical day looks like?
- What is the most challenging? What is difficult?

Way of working – Collaboration

- Who do you work with?
- Could you write down the collaborations you have?
- How do collaboration take place?
- Why do you work together with others?
- What are typical challenges while working together?
- Did the way you work together change over time?
- Is there something you could think of that could help you working together more/better?

No collaboration?

- Why do you not collaborate?
- Did you collaborate before? Why did you stop?
- What challenges do you face while working alone?
- Would you like to collaborate again with others?

Ending the interview – Is there anything you would like to add?

Appendix B. Overview fieldwork 2018-2020

	Place	Date	Practitioner	PAX	Pseudonym	Time in min.
South Greenland						
1	Qaqortoq	11 April 2018	TO[15]	1	Sanne	94
2	Qaqortoq	12 April 2018	Public institution	1	Aviaja	84
3	Qaqortoq	12 April 2018	DMO	1	Maliina	54
4	Qaqortoq	12 April 2018	Accommodation	1	Mads	37
5	Nanortalik	13 April 2018	Public institution	1	Peter	53
6	Nanortalik	14 April 2018	TO/TA[16]/souvenir shop/tourist information	1	Nuka	51
7	Nanortalik	15 April 2018	TO/Incoming agency	1	Ivik	70
8	Narsarsuaq	17 April 2018	Accommodation	1	Equ	49
9	Narsarsuaq	17 April 2018	TO/TA/Transfer	1	Jes	94
West Greenland						
10	Nuuk	7 November 2018	DMO	1	Line	41

[15] TO = Tour operator
[16] TA = Travel agency

11	Nuuk	8 November 2018	Transfer/Incoming agency	1	Aaju	36
12	Nuuk	8 November 2018	Incoming agency/catering	1	Nini	48
13	Nuuk	8 November 2018	Incoming agency	1	Joel	68
14	Nuuk	8 November 2018	Accommodation	1	Janus	51
15	Nuuk	9 November 2018	Public institution	1	Hilda	73
16	Nuuk	9 November 2018	Accommodation	1	Aansi	66
17	Nuuk	9 November 2018	Public institution	1	Saalu	57
18	Maniitsoq	13 November 2018	Public institution	1	Saali	85
19	Maniitsoq	14 November 2018	Public institution	1	Pete	26
20	Kangerlussuaq	15 November 2018	Outfitter	2	Joas	96
			Souvenir shop		Nuila	
21	Kangerlussuaq	15 November 2018	Accommodation	1	Aajaku	44
West Greenland						

22	Sisimiut	27 February 2019	Public institution	2	Maraq	71
					Uilu	
23	Sisimiut	27 February 2019	Public institution	1	Anne	75
24	Sisimiut	27 February 2019	Accommodation	1	Pele	63
25	Sisimiut	28 February 2019	Accommodation/ TO/ souvenir shop/ tourist info	1	Piipa	76
26	Sisimiut	28 February 2019	Public institution	1	Juupi	46
27	Sisimiut	28 February 2019	Public institution	1	Jaaku	57
28	Nuuk	4 March 2019	Artist	1	Mia	109
29	Nuuk	4 March 2019	Public institution	2	Piloq	109
					Saalu	
30	Nuuk	5 March 2019	Public institution	1	Karu	76
31	Nuuk	5 March 2019	Public institution	1	Aaja	58
32	Nuuk	5 March 2019	Public institution	1	Birte	44
33	Nuuk	6 March 2019	TO/ souvenir shop/ TA	1	Magnus	45

34	Nuuk	6 March 2019	OTA[17]/ marketing office	1	Maasi	65
East Greenland						
35	Kulusuk	11 July 2019	Public institution	1	Felix	22
36	Kulusuk	11 July 2019	TO	1	Luke	69
37	Tasiilaq	15 July 2019	Public institution	1	Laasi	97
			TO	1	Paalu	34
38	Tasiilaq	15 July 2019	DMO	1	Idda	35
39	Tasiilaq	15 July 2019	Accommodation	1	Ruluk	35
40	Tasiilaq	15 July 2019	TO/ supplier/ transfer/ accommodation	1	Enoq	37
41	Tasiilaq	15 July 2019	Accommodation	1	Taajuk	37

Total: 44 Pax / 3502 min.

[17] OTA = Online travel agency

Appendix C. Article: *Collaborative configurations of tourism development: a Greenlandic example*

Chimirri, D. (2020). Collaborative configurations of tourism development: a Greenlandic example. *The Journal of Tourism Futures*, *6*(1), 24-39. https://doi.org/10.1108/JTF-01-2019-0006

Received 18 January 2019

Revised 17 May 2019

Accepted 20 September 2019

Purpose

While tourism scholars have increasingly recognized the significance of collaboration as an essential element in tourism development, there is a lack of theoretical and empirical research centering on (trans)local collaboration as a central means for future tourism development in Greenland. The purpose of this paper is to analyze the conceptual and analytic potentials and challenges of collaboration in an explorative case study.

Design/methodology/approach

The paper applies a case study approach to scrutinize collaboration in the setting of a tourism workshop in South Greenland. This research approach is exploratory in nature and focuses on collaborative activities among participants from different research institutions and countries, from Campus Kujalleq in Qaqortoq, from small-scale enterprises and businesses, managers of Destination Marketing Organizations (DMOs) and local fishermen.

Findings

Four “collaborative configurations” emerged during the workshop. These inspire and challenge ways of (re)conceptualizing collaborative tourism development in South Greenland and call for the reconsideration of the present approach towards tourism development for shaping new possible future(s) of tourism in the Greenlandic context.

Originality/value

The relevance of this paper emerges from the crucial significance that tourism actors in Greenland credit collaboration. Moreover, by approaching development issues from within and mutually developing possible practice solutions through collaboration with local tourism actors, the paper aims to give voice to the local community, which currently is lacking in the debate on tourism development in Greenland.

***Keywords*:**

Greenland, tourism development, collaboration, collaborative configurations, coordination, cooperation, networking, positioning, explorative study

Type:

Research paper

Introduction

The Arctic is challenged by major social, cultural, environmental and economic change (Maher, 2017). Arctic communities are affected by climate change, by social shifts within the indigenous societies and by the emerging tourism-related economic opportunities resulting from increased cruise-ship visits and air traffic (Hall & Saarinen, 2010). Given the diversity of Arctic communities and how they are impacted differently by these changing conditions, the work with standardized solutions seems unfounded. Hence, the need to explore local paths of opportunity and to create new opportunities for tourism planning and the development of the respective Arctic populations are becoming increasingly important (Nordic Council of Ministers, 2015).

On this background, the paper explores collaborative practices in a workshop setting, which took place as part of a research project on sustainable small-scale business development and demography in South Greenland (see AAU Arctic, 2017). The aim is to theoretically and conceptually discuss how emerging collaborative practices come in different shapes. The paper also unfolds how these diverse and yet

interconnected practices simultaneously inspire and challenge new possible futures of tourism planning and development in the Greenlandic context and how they potentially form diverse tools providing multiple options for developing a destination.

From a theoretical standpoint, tourism scholars have long recognized the significance of collaboration in the context of planning and development. In much of this literature, collaboration offers opportunity for dialogue and negotiation, creating the basis for cooperation on the drafting of widely acceptable proposals for future development (Bramwell & Lane, 2000b). In this view, collaboration is generally considered a positive tool for tourism development, such as planning and implementing concrete actions, especially in challenging tourism landscapes (Jamal & Getz, 1995; Reed, 1999; Waayers et al., 2012) such as in the Arctic communities right now.

However, collaboration on tourism development also requires complex and strenuous organization, such as tourism actors working together despite their diverse interests and goals in the tourism development process (Ladkin & Bertramini, 2002). Due to the fragmented nature of tourism, individual tourism actors are seldom able to act in isolation. It is unlikely that any of the individual tourism actors possess or control all of the relevant components needed to offer a tourism product (Bramwell & Lane, 2000a). Hence, when working on their own, tourism actors are seldom in the position to influence decision-making processes in a favorable way. The establishment of a beneficial political and operational frame for producing, creating and ultimately delivering the tourism product therefore depends on collaborative efforts. In that sense, tourism is not only a business-related activity in need of stable and favorable conditions, but also a complex system of practices depending on and influenced by an array of largely uncontrollable factors.

While an extensive body of academic literature discusses the conceptual underpinnings of collaboration in tourism development (Bramwell & Lane, 2000b; Ladkin & Bertramini, 2002; Morris & Miller-Stevens, 2016a), there is a lack of research challenging the inherent idea of collaboration constituting a smooth device for the planning and implementation of actions and the further nuancing of these theories with empirical applications (Waayers et al., 2012). Moreover, there is little academic research in the field of tourism development focused on Greenland (Ren & Chimirri, 2017, 2018b), and even less centered on (local and translocal) collaboration as central means for future tourism development in this particular Arctic destination.

In this regard, this paper introduces the term “collaborative configuration” to further nuance the emerging collaborative practices occurring in the workshop. These collaborative configurations are considered specifications of how collaboration unfolds in different ways. Four examples of collaborative configuration illustrate the

complex and rather heterogeneous practices and activities in the workshop: positioning, coordination, networking and cooperation. Despite being uncontrolled and unintended by the organizers, the emerging practices interconnect and form collaborative configurations that can be specified as positioning, coordination, networking and cooperation. They exemplify how collaboration often results from different intentions and carries different meanings for different actors.

To introduce the reader to the context of the workshop, the following section sketches out some of the particularities of the current, relatively fragmented Greenlandic tourism landscape, thereby situating the collaborative practices that emerged from within this gathering.

The fragmented tourism landscape in Greenland

Tourism remains a relatively young industry in Greenland, despite having been carried out in an organized manner since the early 1960s (Christensen, 1992; Johnston & Viken, 1997; Kaae, 2002, 2006) and the potential of this sector having been acknowledged in 1973 by the Committee of Tourism under the Ministry of Greenland (Ren & Chimirri, 2018b). Compared to long-established Greenlandic industries such as fisheries and mining, which account for the majority of the GNP, tourism is a relatively new economic sector in Greenland. Tourism figures have increased in recent years (Statistics Greenland, 2017, 2018; VisitGreenland, 2016), however, which is contributing to the growth of the tourism portfolio and the offering of diversified products and services. From outdoor and nature activities (e.g., hiking, kayaking, climbing, dogsled tours, boat tours and sailing, hunting and fishing, photography tours) to cultural experiences (e.g., Greenlandic food, meeting the locals, experiencing the traditional kaffemik, guided tours to historical sites), the tourism landscape offers a wide range of producst and services. The development in the years to come is expected to move toward higher quality activities rather than dramatic increases in the numbers of visitors. High-end products such as heli-skiing and exclusive accommodations are already enriching the market. Despite the recent and continuing positive development in visitor numbers and activities, however, Greenland struggles with a challenging organizational tourism structure and the evolving complexity of the political and public discourse around tourism planning and development.

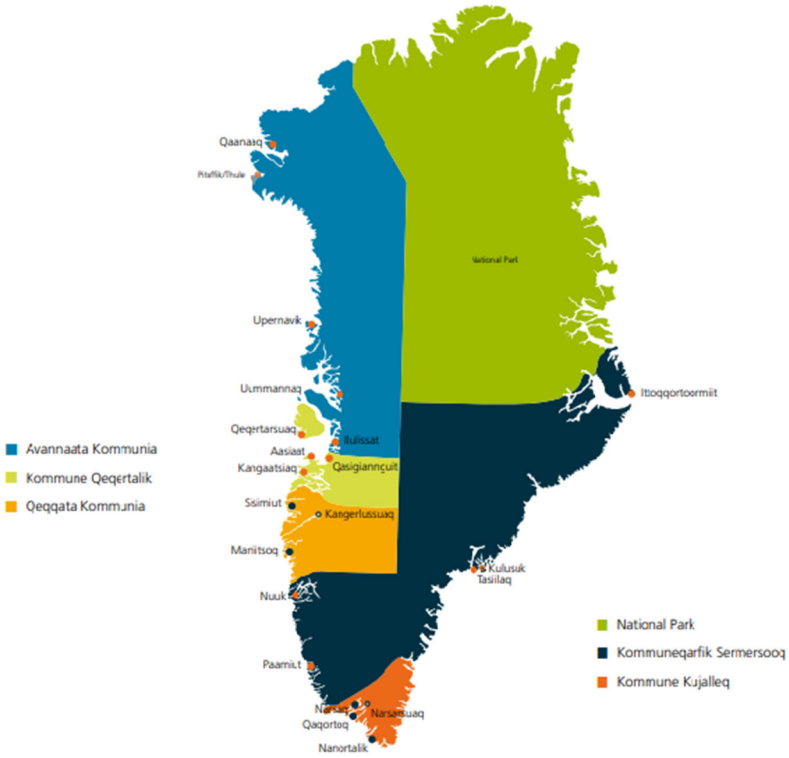

Figure 1: Greenland's municipalities and the national park (Statistic Greenland, 2018)

On the one hand, the tourism landscape is characterized by a few major players, such as the government of Greenland (Naalakkersuisut), Visit Greenland, Air Greenland and large foreign tour operators operating from overseas. On the other hand, numerous small-scale businesses and entrepreneurs located across the five municipalities (see fig. 1) and operating mainly locally shape the tourism picture. Due to the highly varying access to resources and the locations of the tourism actors, both actor groups focus on different issues within tourism and have diverse plans for how to develop tourism in their region and subsequently in Greenland.

Naalakkersuisut, for instance, focuses on fostering tourism growth by "developing areas, cities and towns through spatial and urban planning" (field interview, TJ, 20 January 2017). Additionally, laws and guidelines aim to regulate and manage the arrival of tourists while simultaneously enabling tourism actors to operate their businesses through activities such as fishing and hunting licenses and cruise ship passenger fees (Naalakkersuisut, 2016). Greenland's DMO, Visit Greenland, focuses on the marketing and global promotion of the country as a tourist destination

(VisitGreenland, 2016). Lastly, small-scale actors are primarily occupied with tackling day-to-day challenges that are related to changing regulatory frameworks, unreliable and high-maintenance technical infrastructure, complex logistics due to geographic dispersal, and high seasonality (Ren & Chimirri, 2017). There is a need for a stable "framework […] The government keeps changing […] direction. There is no steady framework and uncertainty increases [...] We're very concerned. We see that tourism has major potential, but we don't see the necessary decisions being made" (field interview, TM, 25 January 2017). Hence, actors continuously work in favor of establishing the most stable conditions possible for successfully operating in the field.

While such circumstances and subsequent conflicting viewpoints and arguments in the political and public discourse risk further fragmenting and challenging future tourism development in Greenland, collaboration might be key to embracing opportunities and mitigating challenges.

While Ren and Chimirri (2017) have already argued this and practitioners acknowledge the significance of collaboration, they also tend to underestimate the complexity of the landscape in which they operate as well as the diverse shapes in which collaboration can emerge. In turn, their understanding of collaboration affects the opportunities for developing the destination. It therefore becomes crucial to start by unfolding the theoretical concept of collaboration and what it brings to tourism research and practice in order to later explore the concept empirically in the field.

The collaboration concept and tourism research

Collaboration is a complex concept, as the phenomenon it seeks to capture theoretically—the collaborative process—is manifold, and no single theoretical framework can fully grasp it. As shaped by Gray (Gray, 1985, 1989; Wood & Gray, 1991), however, collaboration theory provides a basis for understanding how and why actors meet and act jointly (Morris & Miller-Stevens, 2016a), namely to "constructively explore their differences and search for solutions that go beyond their own limited vision of what is possible" (Gray, 1989, p. 5).

In line with this definition, consensus seems to exist on the increasingly important role of collaboration between and across the public–private and nonprofit–profit divides in tourism planning (Ladkin & Bertramini, 2002; Reed, 1999; Timothy, 1998; Waayers et al., 2012) and policy-making (Bramwell & Sharman, 1999; Parker, 1999; Vernon, Essex, Pinder, & Curry, 2005b). Here, collaboration is widely considered to offer a positive, significant tool. Collaborative efforts enable actors to overcome challenges and limitations and to resolve issues emerging from the fragmented nature of tourism products, the challenging tourism environment (dependent on

factors such as policy-making, infrastructure and seasonality) and an increasingly competitive global market (Bramwell & Lane, 2000b, 2000a; Jamal & Getz, 1995).

However, collaboration is regarded as emerging process that does not often take place in a linear and systematic way (Hall, 1999). While collaboration theory does help to create an understanding of how and why actors collaborate, the various actors enact collaboration to different ends constituting "collaboration as a practical issue" (Waayers et al., 2012, p. 673).

Given that multiple individuals with different experiential backgrounds and perspectives come together, the emerging practices and the collaboration process are by definition rather unorganized, chaotic, fractal and partial, largely uncontrollable, continuously changing and can be highly controversial.

Accordingly, "while there is a wealth of literature that explores the theory and conceptual ideas of collaboration […] there is a need to explore these theories in applied situations" (Waayers et al., 2012, p. 673). This paper aims to meet this need by exploring how collaboration unfolds in the present case study.

Based on the above, it can be considered conducive to this paper's conceptual discussion that the empirical case discussed here was also grounded in a collaborative methodology.

An explorative methodology: developing collaborative configurations in practice

This paper is based on data from a workshop entitled "Sustainable business development and demography: Exploring critical links between gender, youth and small-scale business development in fishery and tourism in South Greenland" (SBD project) (AAU Arctic, 2017). The project was funded by the Arctic Cooperation Programme 2015–2017 under the auspices of the Nordic Council of Ministers (Nordic Council of Ministers, 2015). A team consisting of 10 researchers from the natural sciences, social sciences and humanities employed by research institutions in Denmark, Greenland and the Faroe Islands carried out the project (Aalborg University, 2018). The main aim of the SBD project was to promote sustainable business and demographic development in and for South Greenland by focusing on locally anchored, small-scale business entrepreneurs and their role in shaping and influencing the business landscape in their community (AAU Arctic, 2017).

In order to explore new concrete paths and possibilities for sustainable and demographic development in this community, a workshop was conducted at the Campus Kujalleq (Campus Kujalleq, 2014) in Qaqortoq, South Greenland, April 10–11, 2018.

Organization and implementation of the workshop

Although the workshop was initially planned to facilitate knowledge collaboration and dialogue between all of the relevant local and regional stakeholders in South Greenland (AAU Arctic, 2017), the organizers soon faced challenges regarding the identification of the stakeholders and how to reach them. The process according to which participants were invited to the workshop was rather pragmatic. The involved researchers contacted partners and informants of their previous research stays in Greenland, asking if they wanted to participate and/or if they knew of others who might be interested in participating in the workshop. The only criteria for participation was that the interested parties needed to live and/or work in South Greenland with tourism and/or fisheries. While this might seem unsystematic, this sampling approach enabled the team of eight organizers from Aalborg University, the Greenland Institute of Natural Resources and the University of the Faroe Islands to conduct the workshop with 28 participants (see table 1).

Participants	**Location**	**Amount**
Food College Greenland - Inuili	Narsaq	1
Campus Kujalleq	Qaqortoq	16
Ministry of Business, Labor, Trade and Energy	Nuuk	1
Greenland Business	Nuuk	1
Aalborg University	Aalborg and Copenhagen	6
Illunnguujuk Hostel	Qassiarsuk	1
University of the Faroe Islands	Tórshavn	1
Greenland Institute of Natural Resources	Nuuk	1
Destination South Greenland	Qaqortoq	2
Visit Greenland	Nuuk	1
SHAPE	Nuuk	1
Narsaq Hostel/Qajak bryggeri	Narsaq	1

Ulu Care	Narsaq	1
Trawlerrederiet “Bingo 3” - Fisherman	Qaqortoq	1
Qaqortoq Museum	Qaqortoq	1
Total		**36**

Table 1: Participant list

The broad composition of stakeholders provided the organizers with a diverse group of participants as regards age, gender and field of employment, and this diversity rendered it possible to obtain insights into the complexity of practices owing to the diversity of interrelated stakeholders.

The workshop setting: An action research-inspired environment

The workshop was divided into thematic slots, offering presentations from the different researchers (covering different research fields, e.g., demography, fisheries, tourism) and by the South Greenlandic actors (presentations made by DMO Destination South Greenland, Greenland Business, etc.), group work and other activities (e.g., walk and talks, speed dating), as well as discussion sessions (see fig. 2). In so doing, the organizers sought to achieve a dynamic yet intimate workshop process and flow.

Program for the workshop "Sustainable development of small-scale business in South Greenland"

10-11 April 2018, Qaqortoq.
Campus Kujalleq, Aulaen, NI-Bygningen

9.00	Arrival and coffee
9.05	Welcome by Lill Bjørst, Aalborg University
9.20	Presentation of previous fieldwork by Rikke Becker Jacobsen, Aalborg Universitet
9.40	Gender and location: What does it mean when men and women choose where they want to live?' Proposal by Helene Pristed Nielsen, Aalborg University
10.00	Break
10.15	Proposal by Erika Hayfield, University of the Faroe Islands: "I love the Faroe Islands, but I always wanted to live abroard": Young people, mobility and the periphere areas
10.35	Proposal by Ida Kragstrup, Municipality Kujalleq: Presentation of the SHAPE project
10.50	Mingling activity – "Speeddating"
11.20	Introduction to the group work: Survey of small-scale businesses in South Greenland and tourism activities
11.40	Group work
12.30	Lunch

Program for the workshop "Sustainable development of small-scale busines in South Greenland"

10-11 April 2018, Qaqortoq.
Sted: Campus Kujalleq, Aulaen, NI-Bygningen

13.10	Proceeding with group work
13.45	Presentation of the group work findings and discussion
14.45	Walk and talk
15.15	Coffee break
15.30	Evaluation of the "Walk and talk" with participants
16:00	Presentation by Henrk Ebbe Nielsen, Destination South Greenland: The DMO Destination South Greenland
16:30	Presentation by Christian Wennecke, Greenland Business: "Innovation og entrepreneurship in Greenland"
17.00	Ending of day one

Dag 2

8.30	Welcome & presentation of the program by Lill Rastad Bjørst
8.35	Proposal on fishery by Helle Torp Christensen, Grønlands Naturinstitut: "Resourses in fishery in South Greenland"
9.00	Proposal on tourism by Daniela Chimirri & Laura James, Aalborg University: Tourism development in Greenland – What could it be?
9.30	Break
9.50	Group work based on given cases
12.00	Lunch
12.45	Presentation of group work findings and discussion
14.30	Good by and thank you

Figure 2: Workshop program

The workshop aimed to create an atmosphere of knowledge sharing and exchange and to function as a platform, offering participants space to contribute to the exploration and development of proposals for how to combine sustainability with the changing and challenging environment in South Greenland in relation to tourism and fisheries.

Considering the widely reproduced image of the Greenlandic society being extremely small (given its population relative to its size), it would have been reasonable to assume that the actors in such a delimited region as South Greenland, working in the same or interrelated professional fields, already knew each other or at least have heard of each other before the workshop took place. The organizers did not know the extent to which this would be the case, however, and therefore decided to include activities aimed at fostering interpersonal contact between the participants. These activities included:

- Starting the workshop with a speed-dating activity for the participants to get to know each other
- coffee breaks between sessions intended to facilitate space for dialogue
- lunch funded by the project and intended to create a relaxed atmosphere for more informal exchange

- a walk and talk outside the workshop venue in the Greenlandic wilderness and the town of Qaqortoq, inspiring new perspectives and becoming familiar with the local area as the center of the workshop

Figure 3: Speed-dating activity in the SBD workshop, April 10, 2018, Campus Kujalleq, Qaqortoq (picture: Daniela Chimirri)

The organizers planned a speed-dating activity for the first day (see fig. 3). The participants were asked to present themselves in two minutes to the person in front of them. That way, the organizers hoped to create grounds and starting points for further conversations amongst the participants.

Arranging the workshop in this particular manner arguably created space for networking, exchanging ideas and knowledge, and for initiating further cooperation between all of the participants, rejecting "conventional research approaches where an external expert enters a setting to record and represent what is happening" (Kemmis, McTaggart and Nixon, 2013, p. 4). In addition to presenting their own work, the involved researchers (including this paper's author) also actively participated in the group work, activities and discussions. The organizers also invited all of the participants (before, during and after) to contribute to the workshop. Contributions ranged from presentations and talks (see fig. 6) to feedback and involvement in discussions and group work (see fig. 7). Accordingly, this approach recognizes and acknowledges the capacity of all of the participants living and/or working in/with tourism and fisheries in South Greenland to conduct research themselves through active participation throughout all of the aspects of the research process (Kemmis, McTaggart and Nixon, 2013).

Such a process aims to transcend the "usual distinctions between the researcher and the researched and invites participants ideally to take part in a mutual process of learning and change, which might enable new modes of thinking and acting" (Egmose, 2016, p. 6). According to Kemmis (Stephen Kemmis, 2009), it inspires changes in the "practitioners' practices, their understandings of their practices, and the conditions in which they practice"(p. 463). In the case of the SBD project, it meant to develop proposals for South Greenland entrepreneurs in terms of how to cope with the changing and challenging environment of this Arctic community in sustainable ways. This stands in line with the argument regarding the need to create a more nuanced understanding of the concept of collaboration in tourism research acknowledging the notion of multiplicity in how the actors think and act (see chapter "Collaboration concept and tourism research").

In conjunction with the material from the workshop, consisting of recordings of group discussions, field diary notes, photographic images and flipchart sheets from group work as well as an earlier research project (Ren & Chimirri, 2017), I also draw on previous fieldwork data in form of interviews from my current PhD project. This supplemented my explorative participation during the workshop, where I could observe and become part of collaboration in action.

Collaborative practices forming collaborative configurations

Applying a bottom-up approach, this paper presents four examples of collaborative configurations. All four forms are modes of acting and conducting collaboration. They differ in terms of how and to what ends collaboration takes place and are characterized by the different perspectives that actors bring to the table, resulting in multiple forms of collaborating.

Agreeing with Waayers, Lee and Newsome (2012), who describe collaboration as a practical issue, the analysis in this paper takes the emerging practices of the workshop as the departure point and basis for analyzing collaboration in this specific setting. By using the word "practices," however, this paper refers to the assemblage of a broader set of activities, discourses and the physical setting, and it does not limit its analytical scope to the behavioral aspect of practice. The analysis shows how we need to create a more nuanced understanding of collaboration theory in tourism research.

"Through differences you have the possibility of positioning yourself" – Positioning: Working together to stand out

As argued in theoretical terms in chapter three, this example shows how collaboration also offers a tool for situating and therefore positioning oneself as unique. It creates a competitive advantage for the actors enabling them to overcome

challenges and limitations and to resolve issues emerging from the fragmented nature of tourism products and the challenging tourism environment (Bramwell & Lane, 2000b, 2000a; Jamal & Getz, 1995).

Depending on how individualized competition is conceived, competition and collaboration do not have to be regarded as natural antagonists. As one DMO staffer commented in the context of an earlier study (cf. Ren & Chimirri, 2017): "There are a lot of values in the regions […] but you have to look a little deeper to see the differences. The differences offer the possibility of positioning each region and the stakeholders in the regions […] That doesn't necessarily mean competing; it can also mean supplementing each other […] that's a huge benefit. Just trying to sell the same products as everyone else would mean cannibalism. Then it's just about prices and where the tourist can get the same experience cheaper" (field interview LY, 13 December 2016). In this case, the purpose of working together lies in the identification of differences across actors, which make each and everyone stand out as special, thus leading to the potential creation of unique selling proposition USPs).

Figure 4: Presentation of products, SBD workshop, 11 April 2018, Campus Kujalleq, Qaqortoq, (picture: Daniela Chimirri)

This is partly also reflected in the following example from the SBD workshop. One of the workshop participants runs a small business in South Greenland selling specialized products based on local Greenlandic herbs. She used the workshop to promote her own business by displaying, introducing and selling her products (figs. 4 and 5), which further positioned her as unique and special in this market niche.

Figure 5: Sale of products, SBD workshop, 11 April 2018, Campus Kujalleq, Qaqortoq (picture: Daniela Chimirri)

As this participant explained during a coffee break, “we need to make others aware of our existence and to connect for resource delivery and the selling of our products” (workshop participant TH, 11 April 2018). In relation to the delivery of goods for her production, she needs to coordinate with locals. And in order to create the needed awareness for promotion and sales, she needs to network.

Even though the purpose of collaborating in this case appears to be solely geared toward individual economic benefit, it also demonstrates how positioning is also a collaborative configuration incorporating other configurations, such as coordinating and networking.

“Everyone can contribute with something” – Coordination

Figure 6: Academic presentation, tourism session, SBD workshop, 11 April 2018, Campus Kujalleq, Qaqortoq (picture: Naja Carina Steenholdt)

A session on tourism development in Greenland was held on the second day of the workshop. After a presentation by the author of this paper on the tourism landscape in Greenland (fig. 6), participants discussed the topic in groups (fig. 7), which was summarized afterwards (fig. 8).

Figure 7: Group work, tourism session, SBD workshop, 11 April 2018, Campus Kujalleq, Qaqortoq (picture: Daniela Chimirri)

During these summaries, it became apparent that all of the groups had discussed one specific topic in particular: the structure of the DMOs in Greenland and their responsibilities and effectiveness in relation to tourism development. "It's different from region to region how tourism is organized. We have actors such as boat owners, transport companies, accommodation, farms and many more. Then we have actors who offer packages […] They sell them to larger travel agencies, which have partners in different countries […] Then, we have the DMOs—here in the south, it's Destination South Greenland—which mainly does […] marketing, promotion and product development together with actors in the region. Then there's Visit Greenland, whose main tasks are branding and visibility, expanding the season, improving framework conditions, statistics and documentation. We asked ourselves: what are we missing in this value chain?" (workshop participant JP, April 11, 2018).

Figure 8: Presentation of notes from group work, tourism session, SBD workshop, 11 April 2018, Campus Kujalleq, Qaqortoq (picture: Daniela Chimirri)

Participant JP underlines how the regions are organized differently. In the case of South Greenland, it has been done "in a way with […] Destination South Greenland […] others are running it by the municipality. There are different ways to do it. What's important is who takes care of the development […] Who makes the most out of the potential and the ideas that we have developed—also here today? Who coordinates and launches it? How do we want to work together on this?" (workshop participant JP, April 11, 2018).

A student from Campus Kujalleq contributed to the discussion with personal experiences from an internship at a local tourism business in South Greenland: "I'm a coordinator and coordinate things. There isn't actually any tourism office on site, and because of that, the city itself thinks about how tourism could take place. It's important for us that everyone in the area—the people making souvenirs, elderly, associations, everyone—is part of it. Everyone is able to contribute with something. We contacted everyone, asked what they are able to do and what they want to contribute with. Whether it's road or harbor workers, the elderly, associations—our vision is that everyone can contribute with something" (workshop participant TM, April 11, 2018).

These examples illustrate coordination as another form of collaborative configuration, demonstrating how the lack of a formalized local tourism organization

(e.g., a DMC or DMO) does not automatically mean that no collaboration takes place. Participants recognize the absence of a formal tourism organization in many regions and question "what are we missing?" and "who will make the most of the potential and the ideas that we have worked on here today" (workshop participant, April 11, 2018). From an outside perspective, it might therefore appear as though there is an untapped and unused potential for development. However, Mulford and Rogers (1982) state that coordination is characterized by a situation of informal trade-offs and by the attempt to absorb the absence of rules. The examples of the workshop exemplify such an informal setting. As the student expressed (despite the absence of a formal body): Everyone is able to contribute to the development of the area according to their personal knowledge and capabilities.

Nevertheless, coordination alone does not solve problems; it neither challenges nor creates proposals for tourism development (Ladkin & Bertramini, 2002). It can be argued that an actor is required to initiate and coordinate such a largely informal or minimally formalized platform, where local actors can meet, exchange and share knowledge, thereby motivating actors to "contribute with something" (workshop participant TM, April 11, 2018). This "contribute with something" constitutes the essential element that makes the difference in the development process.

As these examples illustrate, every region is organized differently in relation to tourism. The regional structure depends on the location of the region, its accessibility, its landmarks and tourism opportunities, the popularity of the destination, and the access to resources in relation to marketing and promotion. Accordingly, the most important aspect of tourism development seems not to be the physical structure of the place, but rather the collaborative activities involving the many actors in the area. Coordination of and amongst actors is also an element of networking as the second collaborative configuration and will be illustrated in the following.

"People think that we automatically know" – Networking during and after the workshop

Tourism actors expect to be known by fellow tourism actors. This became apparent in the workshop discussions on the second day about the challenges of tourism development in South Greenland. For example, participant IV stated: "When I hear people complaining that nothing happens and asking why their products are not being bought by tourists, I ask: When did you tell me that you have these offers and products? That's the biggest challenge right now. People think that we automatically know about their products. They don't even tell us that they exist. We're going out and getting information on products and services" (workshop participant IV, April 11, 2018). Here, the participant IV described how other tourism actors in the area continuously confront her with such expectations on a daily basis. For her, the

primary purpose of attending the workshop was therefore to establish networks with fellow tourism actors. As the organization for which the participant works was still in the startup phase, getting in touch with others and becoming familiar with the tourism actors in the area is deemed essential to fulfilling the organization's objectives.

Apart from this explicit objective of attending the workshop to establish and broaden one's own network, other participants indicated in informal communications that there was also another reason for their workshop participation.

The workshop initiated the planning and realization of a general assembly of the regional DMO Destination South Greenland with its members and Visit Greenland. The workshop participation was financially supported by the SBD project, including the reimbursement of travel and accommodation expenses to/in Qaqortoq for many of the invited participants. Realizing that its members would be assembled at the same place and time, the DMO exploited the opportunity to hold its annual general assembly. Transportation is expensive in Greenland, and neither regional DMOs nor Visit Greenland have unlimited financial resources to finance transportation to meetings. This re-purposing of the workshop also ties in to the aspect of networking: The meeting between members served the purpose of talking about the present status of the DMO and discussing the future of South Greenland tourism development.

Both examples illustrate networking as another collaborative configuration. On the one hand, the collaborative activity appears in the form of expanding one's network and, thus, as reason for attending the workshop in its own right. On the other hand, pragmatically exploiting this opportunity to meet with people outside the workshop setting constitutes another purpose and provides an additional reason for collaborating.

In both cases the establishment and fostering of relations between actors is central. This aspect constitutes the central element in networking theory (Iorio & Corsale, 2014) and requires commitment from the involved parties. As Cumbers, Mackinnon and Chapman (2003) argue, commitment leads to connectedness and potential opportunities for sharing knowledge and experiences, which are in turn important attributes for development.

In both cases, networking also requires the coordination of actors. Here, the two "collaborative configurations" of coordination and networking cannot be empirically separated, as they determine each other.

"We try to meet people to cooperate, because we want to do something" – Cooperation as enabling practices

Cooperation as a form of collaborative configuration is different to positioning, coordination and networking. This form of collaboration implies actions that are more precise in order to achieve certain goals. It includes efforts aimed to tackle challenges and solve mutual problems (Jamal & Getz, 1995). As the following example shows, cooperation in this case represents a goal-oriented tool for dealing with concrete tourism-related challenges facing the town of Qaqortoq.

"We're trying to meet people to cooperate, because we want to do something" (workshop participant VA, 10 April 2018); so explained participant VA during a workshop coffee break. We talked about Qaqortoq as a popular cruise-ship destination and how the local museum is challenged to motivate cruise tourists to come and learn about the area and its history. In a follow-up interview with the same person the day after the workshop, she explained how she wanted to do more than just display objects and hope for locals and tourists to "drop by:" "When I came, the museum was neglected […] There was no cooperation, but I try to make it work" (field interview VA, 11 April 2018). To this date, VA's cooperation remains very limited and is mainly linked to work-specific tasks, such as displaying objects and supplying facilities for educational purposes to Campus Kujalleq. As VA also mentioned, all of these activities are rather sporadic. More collaborative activities, also on a regular basis, would be a major step toward achieving specific objectives in this area.

Similar challenges have also been expressed in previous research (Ren & Chimirri, 2017). During an interview for this project, PB stated that "in Greenland, we are not standing united when we want to develop the landscape. Everybody works for their own business," while it would be crucial to "find ways to get key stakeholders at one table and say: 'Good, now it doesn't matter how my business runs; now what matters is how can we develop this for the benefit of Greenland'" (field interview PB, 8 February 2017). This example illustrates the significance that cooperation as collaborative configuration could play when considering it as a practice of establishing an interactive process of shaping the tourism landscape together.

The previous examples illustrate the four collaborative configurations of positioning, coordination, networking and cooperation as practices in which stakeholders benefit from each other by acting both individually and in harmony.

Discussion

The empirical data from the SBD workshop, previous fieldwork from my PhD project as well as a previous research project (Ren & Chimirri, 2017) all suggest that the collaboration concept is not differentiated enough in the tourism literature. There is a need to connect "collaboration in theory" to "collaboration in practice" more closely and to deepen our understanding of the collaboration concept as being varied with practical substance from the field.

Due to its fragmented nature, the tourism landscape is characterized by diverse stakeholders and practices that create a complex environment involving numerous uncertainties and conflict potentials. The array of tourism actors involved in the planning and development process of the tourism landscape creates a complex social system of individuals and organizations. As the illustrated examples of this explorative study show, the participants attend the workshop with very different expectations, diverse interests and aims; sometimes connecting with others, sometimes colliding with them. Involved actors use and shape collaboration to different ends.

Collaboration does not take place in a coherent form, but rather in the shape of multiple collaborative activities that simultaneously and continuously affect each other. They complement and contradict at the same time. Having said that, positioning is the central configuration upon which the other three—coordination, networking and cooperation—are based (see fig. 9).

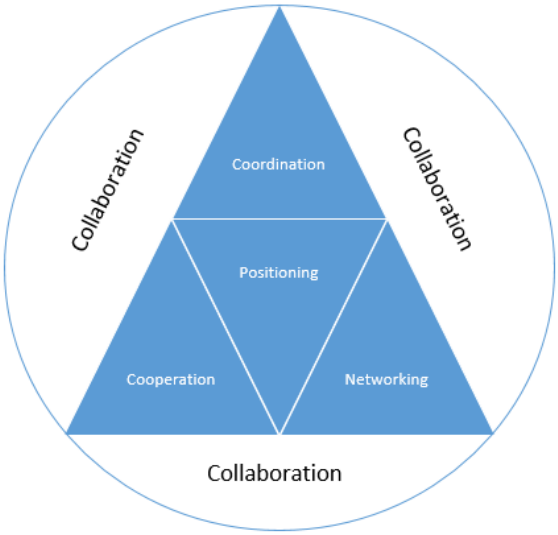

Figure 9: Collaborative configurations based on empirical data (own illustration)

By thinking in terms of such multiplicity, we open up for diverse realities and futures of the tourism landscape in Greenland. Such an approach supports the need for Arctic communities to locally explore paths and create possibilities for development in order to face emerging challenges, as articulated by the Nordic Council of Ministers (2015).

In contrast, collaboration theory argues in favor of a certain commonality. Diverse parties gather and agree on a problem and then constructively explore the

possibilities for finding a solution to change the existing circumstances (Gray, 1989). Such a postulated inherent commonality stands in contrast to the empirical data presented and leaves us with the question as to what this then means in practice.

Following the argumentation of the case study, the attempt to organize collaboration and to coordinate the emerging complex collaborative practices across diverse stakeholder interests to a specific end appears debatable—possibly even unrealistic. This might also lead to the assumption that collaboration is an open-ended endeavor, rendering it impossible to organize any collaborative activities in favor of future tourism development and needed change.

However, even though collaboration does not necessarily require agreement on a problem that appears relevant to every party involved, the empirical data shows that every party can benefit from collaborative activities, albeit in different ways. Even though differently and not as planned by the organizers of workshop, they find or make room to inspire and influence the actual processes that are in place as well as creating the basis for future collaborations.

Conclusion

This case study has revealed collaboration for tourism development as a highly intertwined ecology of practices and activities grounded in individual motivations and reasons for acting. Challenges and resources influence and shape the motives of actors to participate in a workshop, just as much as the evolving practices amongst workshop participants did. The workshop's complex, heterogeneous practices and the emerging four collaborative configurations—positioning, coordination, networking and cooperation—displayed the necessity to nuance the concept of collaboration.

Although this study was limited to unfolding and analyzing the collaborative practices of participants in South Greenland during a workshop, the case study exemplarily provides knowledge for creating an understanding of how practices form diverse, ambiguous and yet interrelated collaborative configurations, which influence how tourism is being and could be developed in Greenland and other Artic destinations. Collaboration is neither easy, trouble-free nor an unambiguously positive tool. Nevertheless, it lies at the core of establishing more pluralistic-democratic, bottom-up approaches to future tourism development and therefore requires further empirical exploration and conceptual specification.

References

Aalborg University (2018), "Sustainable business and demography: exploring critical links between gender youth and small-scale business development in fisheries and tourism in South Greenland", available at: https://vbn.aau.dk/da/projects/sustainable-business-and-demography-exploring-critical-links-betw (accessed May 10, 2019).

AAU Arctic (2017), "New research project: Sustainable business and demography: exploring critical links between gender youth and small-scale business development in fisheries and tourism in South Greenland", available at: https://www.arctic.aau.dk/news/news/new-research-project%E2%80%94sustainable-business-and-demography%E2%80%93exploring-critical-links-between-gender-youth-and-small-scale-business-development-in-fisheries-andtourism-in-south-greenland.cid331440 (accessed May 10, 2019).

Bramwell, B. and Lane, B. (2000a), "Collaboration and partnerships in tourism planning", in Bramwell, B. and

Lane, B. (Eds), Tourism Collaboration and Partnerships: Politics, Practice and Sustainability, Channel View Publications, Bristol, pp. 1-19.

Bramwell, B. and Lane, B. (2000b), Tourism Collaboration and Partnerships. Politics, Practice and Sustainability, Channel View Publications, Bristol.

Bramwell, B. and Sharman, A. (1999), "Collaboration in local tourism making", Annals of Tourism Research, Vol. 26 No. 2, pp. 392-416.

Campus Kujalleq (2014), "Om Skolen", available at: http://cak.gl/skolen/ (accessed May 10, 2019).

Christensen, T. (1992), "Greenland wants tourism", Polar Record, Vol. 28 No. 164, pp. 62-3.

Cumbers, A., Mackinnon, D. and Chapman, K. (2003), "Innovation, collaboration, and learning in regional clusters: a study of SMEs in the Aberdeen oil complex", Environment and Planning A, Vol. 35 No. 9, pp. 1689-706, doi: 10.1068/a35259.

Egmose, J. (2016), Action Research for Sustainability. Social Imagination Between Citizens and Scientists, Routledge, Abingdon.

Gray, B. (1985), "Conditions facilitating interorganizational collaboration", Human Relations, Vol. 38 No. 10, pp. 911-36.

Gray, B. (1989), Collaborating: Finding Common Ground forMultiparty Problems, Jossey-Bass, San Francisco, CA.

Hall, C.M. (1999), "Rethinking collaboration and partnership: a public policy perspective", Journal of Sustainable Tourism, Vol. 7 Nos 3-4, pp. 274-89, doi: 10.1080/09669589908667340.

Hall, C.M. and Saarinen, J. (2010), Tourism and Change in Polar Regions: Climate, Environments and Experiences, Routledge, Abingdon.

Iorio, M. and Corsale, A. (2014), "Community-based tourism and networking: Viscri, Romania", Journal of Sustainable Tourism, Vol. 22 No. 2, pp. 234-55, doi: 10.1080/09669582.2013.802327.

Jamal, T. and Getz, D. (1995), "Collaboration theory and community tourism planning", Science, Vol. 22 No. 1, pp. 186-204.

Johnston, M.E. and Viken, A. (1997), "Tourism development in Greenland", Annals of Tourism Research, Vol. 24 No. 4, pp. 978-82, doi: 10.13140/RG.2.1.1788.5044.

Kaae, B.C. (2002), "Nature and tourism in Greenland", in Watson, A., Alessa, L. and Sproull, J. (Eds), Wilderness in the Circumpolar North: Searching for Compatibility in Traditional, Ecotourism, and Ecological Values, US Department of Agriculture, Forest Service, Rocky Mountain Research Station, Fort Collins, pp. 43-53.

Kaae, B.C. (2006), "Greenland/Kalaallit Nunaat", in Baldacchino, G. (Ed.), Extreme Tourism: Lessons from the World's Cold Water Islands, Elsevier, Amsterdam, pp. 101-14.

Kemmis, S. (2009), "Action research as a practice-based practice", Educational Action Research, Vol. 17 No. 3, pp. 463-474, doi: 10.1080/09650790903093284.

Kemmis, S., McTaggart, R. and Nixon, R. (2013), The Action Research Planner: Doing Critical Participatory Action Research, Springer Science & Business Media, Berlin.

Ladkin, A. and Bertramini, A.M. (2002), "Collaborative tourism planning: a case study of Cusco, Peru", Current Issues in Tourismourism, Vol. 5 No. 2, pp. 71-93, doi: 10.1080/13683500208667909.

Maher, P.T. (2017), "Tourism Futures in the Arctic", in Latola, K. and Savela, H. (Eds), The Interconnected Arctic - UArctic Congress 2016, Springer Polar Science, Cham.

Ministeriet for Grønland (1973), TURISME I GRØNLAND. naitsumik kalatdlisut nailisagartalik. Betænkning udarbejdet af "Udvalget vedrørende turisme i Grønland"

for Ministeriet for Grønland, available at: https://docplayer.dk/7115510-Turisme-i-groenland-naitsumik-kalatdlisut-nailisagartalik.html (accessed November 15, 2019).

Morris, J.C. and Miller-Stevens, K. (2016), Advancing Collaboration Theory: Models, Typologies, and Evidence, Routledge, New York, NY.

Mulford, C.L. and Rogers, D.L. (1982), "Definitions and models", in Rogers, D.L. and Whetten, D.A. (Eds), Interorganizational Coordination: Theory, Research and Implementation, Iowa State University Press, Ames, pp. 9-31.

Naalakkersuisut (2015), "Turismeudvikling i Grønland – hvad skal der til? National sektorplan for turisme 2016–2020", available at: https://naalakkersuisut.gl/~/media/Nanoq/Files/Hearings/2015/Turismestrategi/Documents/Turismestrategi%202016-2020%20FINAL%20DK.pdf (accessed November 13, 2019).

Nordic Council of Ministers (2015), "Open call – Nordic Arctic Cooperation Programme 2015-2017", available at: www.norden.org/en/news/open-call-nordic-arctic-cooperation-programme-2015-2017 (accessed May 10, 2019).

Parker, S. (1999), "Collaboration on tourism policy making: environmental and commercial sustainability on Bonaire, NA", Journal of Sustainable Tourism, Vol. 7 Nos 3-4, pp. 240-59, doi: 10.1080/09669589908667338.

Reed, M.G. (1999), "Collaborative tourism planning as adaptive experiments in emergent tourism settings", Journal of Sustainable Tourism, Vol. 7 Nos 3-4, pp. 331-55, doi: 10.1080/09669589908667343.

Ren, C. and Chimirri, D. (2017), TURISMEUDVIKLING I GRØNLAND - AFDÆKNING OG INSPIRATION, Institut for Kultur og Globale Studier, Aalborg Universitet, Aalborg.

Ren, C. and Chimirri, D. (2018), "Turisme i Grønland – før, nu og i morgen", Vol. 66, Tidsskriftet Grønland, Charlottenlund, pp. 295-302.

Statistics Greenland (2017), "Greenland in Figures 2017", available at: www.stat.gl/publ/en/GF/2017/pdf/Greenland%20in%20Figures%202017.pdf (accessed November 13, 2019).

Statistics Greenland (2018), "Greenland in Figures 2018", available at: www.stat.gl/publ/da/GF/2018/pdf/Greenland%20in%20Figures%202018.pdf (accessed November 13, 2019).

Timothy, D.J. (1998), "Cooperative tourism planning in a developing destination", Journal of Sustainable Tourism, Vol. 6 No. 1, pp. 52-68, doi: 10.1080/09669589808667301.

Vernon, J. et al. (2005), "Collaborative policymaking", Annals of Tourism Research, Vol. 32 No. 2, pp. 325-45, doi: 10.1016/j.annals.2004.06.005.

VisitGreenland (2016), "Turismestrategi 2016 – 2019", available at: https://www.pilersaarusiorneq.gl/~/media/Pilersaarusiorneq/Dokumenter/01_Fysisk_planlaegning/02_Nationale_sektorplaner/Turisme/Turismestrategi_Visit_DK.pdf?la=da (accessed November 13, 2019).

Waayers, D., Lee, D. and Newsome, D. (2012), "Exploring the nature of stakeholder collaboration: a case study of marine turtle tourism in the Ningaloo region, Western Australia", Current Issues in Tourism, Vol. 15 No. 7, pp. 673-92, doi: 10.1080/13683500.2011.631697.

Wood, D.J. and Gray, B. (1991), "Toward a comprehensive theory of collaboration", The Journal of Applied Behavioral Science, Vol. 27 No. 2, pp. 139-62, doi: 10.1177/0021886391272001.

Appendix D. Book chapter: *Life Mapping. A collaborative approach to tourism collaboration in Greenland*

Chimirri, D. (2020). Life Mapping: A collaborative approach to tourism collaboration in Greenland. In A. M. Hansen & C. Ren (Eds.), *Collaborative Methods in Arctic Research: Experiences from Greenland*. Abingdon: Routledge

8 Life Mapping

A collaborative approach to tourism collaboration in Greenland

Daniela Chimirri

Introduction

Within the field of tourism, collaboration is regarded as key to producing and offering products and services. The fragmented nature of tourism and its "assembly process" characteristics make it imperative for tourism actors to work together despite their diverse interests and goals (Ladkin and Bertramini, 2002).

> My focus is on the area and the local actors. I just don't have the resources and time to contact international actors. It isn't that we rule out working with internationals. We also need them … However, there is a limit on how much I can do with the resources and time I have. Ultimately, we need others to help create experiences for the tourists.
>
> Research participant, data from own PhD research project, April 2018.

This example from Greenland demonstrates how actors have different access and control over resources. There are very few situations wherein a single tourism actor exclusively holds the control over all of the individual components and/or the decision-making processes in order to build the political framework for producing/creating as well as finally delivering the tourism products and services.

However, the acknowledgment and recognition of the significance of working together obscures the fact that articulating collaboration as an essential element in the daily operation of tourism businesses is not easy. Drawing on research among Greenlandic tourism actors, this chapter explores how the "life mapping" can contribute to our understanding of collaborative practices in tourism. The life mapping exercise takes place through a diagramming process during "classic"

qualitative interviews. I am using the collaborative life mapping method in order to collaboratively explore the research participants' collaborations in the Greenlandic tourism landscape. My very research subject is the concept of collaboration. In terms of understanding how tourism entrepreneurs in Greenland work together and how this might affect the development of tourism, I must be part of this process of mutually exploring and creating an understanding of the collaborative landscape of this Arctic destination. Collaboration is not my sole research subject, and tourism entrepreneurs are not only research objects representing carriers of knowledge. We are collaborators (Ren, Jóhannesson, and Van der Duim, 2017). I therefore understand my research process as a bottom-up and co-creating approach aimed at fostering an understanding of the collaborative practices from within.

This chapter argues that the combination of verbal description and the visual illustration of collaborations allows the research participant and researcher to co-create an understanding and new knowledge of practices. It initiates reflections on mundane daily practices through dialogue and visualization, potentially activating new thoughts and considerations about the theoretical concept of collaboration, as well as collaboration-inspired research approaches. The chapter ends with reflections on the outcomes of this co-construction method from a conceptual, methodological, analytical, and epistemological perspective, advocating for more collaborative approaches to research in the Arctic.

A call for more collaboration in the Arctic and in Greenland

Agreeing with Pain and Francis (2003), there is a need to turn toward more collaborative research that generates "bottom–up knowledge which is produced in a rigorous ethically acceptable way—in other words, to have real impacts for those we study beyond academic articles and conference papers" (2003: 47). Holm et al. (2011) underline this need to create a research practice in the spirit of working collectively and, therefore, in the context of this book, to connect local communities in the Arctic with ongoing research.

As also normalized in other parts of the Arctic, "hit and run" behavior among scientists appears to have become common practice in Greenland. Such research practices continue despite becoming much less accepted in recent decades, and research often takes place past local communities. The following example from Greenland illustrates this perceived failure of research in the Arctic (interview excerpt, research project in 2016–17; see Ren and Chimirri, 2017):

> Research participant[1]: Then [referring to the building of a visitor center in the North of Greenland functioning as meeting place for locals, tourist information office and research facility], we will have a closer working relationship to them [the researchers visiting the area for study purposes]. Because at the moment we don't usually see them unless we

> meet them. Like, they stay in the hotels … then they just travel back to [wherever they came from].
>
> Researcher: So, the physical building also offers you a way to collaborate closer with others and to be able to exchange knowledge?
>
> Research participant: Yeah, for sure.
>
> Researcher: When scientists are visiting, don't they contact you? I assume in your position—you probably know many people who have experience with the ice cap and would love to share their knowledge with others. That might also help scientists, no?
>
> Research participant: Yes, for sure. I heard a while ago that there's a couple from XX.[2] Last summer, they had their 10th anniversary of research here in Greenland. The whole June, they study the ice, the sea currents, and the temperature. And we didn't know about them.

The respondent articulates the sense of being uninformed about and excluded from research taking place in and concerning them as Arctic inhabitants. Throughout the interview, the research participant also emphasized their interest in working collectively. Working collaboratively would give local communities a stronger voice in the public and academic discourse of Arctic-related issues and challenges. He believes that such approaches benefit and give back to the local communities while at the same time enriching the quality and relevance of research.

Following this statement, the Arctic communities appear to be much talked about—but less talked *with* in many cases. This perspective is expressed even more explicitly in the following excerpt of an interview conducted during my own research project in March 2019. It points to the growing concerns of Arctic communities of not being knowledgeable about and included in ongoing research.

> Researcher: The Arctic regions attract more and more interest from different sides. A lot of challenges and issues are being discussed in the media.
>
> Research participant: In a way, I think that's harmful. It's also disrespectful when we look at how Arctic people have been living with change all the time. We're not dying out, we're not disappearing. We're just adapting.
>
> Researcher: In your opinion, is it a problem how the Arctic is represented, for example in the media?

> Research participant: In a way, yes. I think it's important to talk about climate change, for example, but I think it's equally important to acknowledge that people living here were always able to adapt or they would have died out. If we look at the history of Arctic expeditions, they always forget to mention the local helpers. They are usually a footnote, if mentioned at all. In many aspects, the West has been really good at forgetting the indigenous population of the Arctic.
>
> Researcher: Do you mean that they don't have a voice? That they should be more in the picture, so to speak?
>
> Research participant: Yes, for sure. A very good publication came out a few years ago: "The meaning of ice." It's about hunters from Alaska, Canada, and North Greenland talking about climate change and their relationship to ice. That's one of the human perspectives: the perspective of the Arctic people … it's also important to consider the people living in and off the ice. It's one of these narratives that the Western world has been good at forgetting.

Based on these arguments and theoretically inspired by Bent Flyvbjerg's work with Aristotle's concept of *phronesis*[3] (Flyvbjerg, 2001, 2004, 2005, 2006), as Arctic researchers, we must follow a research approach that generates "experience in context as the most appropriate means of generating knowledge that matches social priorities and can contribute to public debate" (Thomas, 2012: 12). By engaging and involving research participants in, continuously communicating research results to, discussing with, and incorporating feedback from the public, the generated understanding and knowledge build the ground for the research "at place" (Flyvbjerg, 2006). As a kind of bottom-up, collaborative approach to research, doing it this way serves as the eyes and ears of the researchers' ongoing efforts to understand the present and to deliberate about the future from the perspective of the "object under study" (Flyvbjerg, 2006; Pain and Francis, 2003).

Shaping research from below

Following a phronetic research approach by focusing on practical activities and the knowledge of everyday life situations, this approach in a previous research project showed that tourism actors in the Greenland tourism landscape regard collaboration as significant and acknowledge the necessity of engaging in actions and mutually working together with others (Ren and Chimirri, 2017). "It's through the cooperation, the networks, and one's relationship to others that things happen. Working together, we can find ways to do things differently, better, to make things happening" (Research participant, research project in 2016–17; see Ren and Chimirri, 2017).

Tourism actors in Greenland have different ways of dealing with existing conditions, possibilities, and challenges in their daily practices. Their realities are highly complex, diverse in nature, very dynamic, and highly unpredictable, owing to multiple and hardly controllable circumstances, including distance, a harsh climate, and a dispersed population (Ren and Chimirri, 2017, 2018). What the tourism actors have in common is their constant awareness of how they are bound to work together. In the words of one research participant: "[It] is a bit difficult … we have a limited budget. The things we would like to do cost money and we also need the expertise. Collaboration helps and we're always looking out for it. We're open to any kind of collaboration, really" (Research participant, data from own PhD research project, April 2018).

While this seems to be the case, the awareness and testimonies about the "greatness" of collaboration cannot hide the fact that this considerable and essential element of everyday life practices in the Greenlandic tourism landscape is not easy for tourism actors to articulate. It is difficult to grasp for research participant and researcher alike. On the one hand, statements like "when we work together, it's really good for us" (Research participant, data from own PhD research project, April 2018) illustrate the value that tourism actors attribute to collaboration. On the other hand, by saying "we don't really think about it—we just do it" (Research participant, research project in 2016–17; see Ren and Chimirri, 2017), actors struggle to articulate the inherently complex nature of collaborative actions. It feels difficult to actively put words on "collaboration." The inherent meaning nested in these interview statements illustrates the challenge of articulating what seems to be so normal in the actor's daily routines.

Methodological tool to explore collaboration

In theoretical terms, there is also a lack of analytical tools for grasping the term "collaboration," even though it is used extensively nowadays. Consensus seems to exist regarding the increasingly important role of collaboration between and across public and private, nonprofit and profit sectors, owing to that which Gray (1989) calls "the need to manage differences" (p. 1). However, the concept incorporates and carries very different and diverse meanings, depending on the context in which it is used (Morris and Miller-Stevens, 2016b). I therefore argue that it is necessary to find and use methodological tools that enable us—the research participant and researcher—to explore this mundane activity in order to move toward a less superficial, theoretical articulation of the term and a more concrete and practical understanding of collaboration.

The following section of this chapter presents the "life mapping" method (inspired by Marschall's work, 2013, 2017) as a means to collaboratively explore these daily practices and investigate how collaboration takes place in the Greenland tourism

landscape. After introducing this method, I demonstrate how I have applied it in my own research. It illustrates how researcher and research participants can collaborate on exploring the collaboration concept by co-creating life maps in interviews.

Life mapping: Unfolding everyday life practices through the co-construction process of participatory diagramming

In tourism studies, Barry (2017) examines the challenges to articulating and documenting everyday practices from the perspective of the tourist:

> "Everyday tourist practices … are often so subtle, momentary and ordinary, yet form a significant part of a tourist's daily routine. They demand a considerable amount of time, attention and practiced negotiation, but can be difficult for tourists to articulate and reflect on and for researchers to document" (p. 328).

There is a need for creative and collaborative research approaches to engage in and find new and additional ways of capturing and documenting everyday life practices in tourism research. Such new approaches include possible additional "navigational tools than the spoken language" (Marschall, 2013: 8). In this line of argumentation, "life mapping" is regarded as a dialogical method of co-constructing data as part of a participatory diagramming approach (Kesby, 2000; Kesby, Kindon, and Pain, 2005; Literat, 2013; Pain and Francis, 2003) and represents an alternative and yet collaborative approach to data generation within the field of Arctic research. Participatory diagramming refers to a set of methods and visual techniques ranging from making sketches, drawing cartoons and transects, mapping, and compiling charts, diagrams, and matrixes (Kesby et al., 2005). Based on my own PhD research project, I introduce the method of life mapping in this chapter. The description of the mapping process and the illustrated examples come from my fieldwork, which I conducted in South, West, and East Greenland between June 2017 and July 2019. The research participants and I co-created 42 life maps during a total of 40 interviews in the towns and settlements of Qaqortoq, Nanortalik, Narsarsuaq, Nuuk, Maniitsoq, Kangerlussuaq, Sisimiut, Kulusuk, and Tasiilaq.

When looking through the lenses of cartography, mapping refers to the visual representation of "looking from a satellite and getting the overall picture of continents, countries, and oceans" (Marschall, 2013: 8). In connection with the research focus of my research project, however, the culmination and expression of the diagramming process are "life maps" capturing everyday life practices in the form of visual representations (Marschall, 2013) of collaborative activities and formations of collaboration in the Greenlandic tourism landscape.

The following excerpt from an interview situation (data from own PhD research project, April 2018) picks up on these aspects. It illustrates the struggle of research participants to articulate their daily life practices, which affects and hinders the process of unfolding the concept of collaboration. It also shows how the mapping process helps to create an atmosphere for dialogue between researcher and research participant leading to the joint investigation and unfolding of information and insights, valuable for both parties in terms of knowledge creation.

> Researcher: I'd like to try something if you're up for it. I'm trying to get a picture of how collaboration works here in Greenland, starting here in South Greenland. How do you work together? Or why do you not? How would you visualize the collaborations with others? Could you draw or write the collaborations you have on this? [hands a pen and piece of paper to the interviewee] Can we try that?
>
> Research participant: Hmm, well, for us it's … we work with everybody somehow. I don't know, it isn't … I'm actually not sure how to … what do you want me to draw?
>
> Researcher: Whatever comes to mind when you think about collaboration. Everything and everyone you can think of. There's no right or wrong.
>
> Research participant: OK. We work a lot with the hotel, because all of our clients are here at least one or two nights. On the other side of the fjord, there's a farm/guesthouse. It's just on the other side. Then, you can walk to the other side of the fjord, where there's also another farm. And then you have another one we work with. It's good now. It has been difficult though, but now I think something is developing.
>
> Researcher: So these ones [pointing at the map], they're offering accommodation and the others horse riding, or?
>
> Research participant: Yes. We have the tourists, and they make the offers. Ahh, there's also another farmer we work with a lot, just opposite the ice fjord.
>
> Researcher: How does the collaboration work? Do you have personal contact or is it more via email?
>
> Research participant: A lot via email, but we also meet sometimes. I almost forgot, we have the restaurant in Igaliku. It's a hard place to run, because it's only open in the summer and every year it's very difficult to

> find someone. It's only open 3–4 months and it's hard work. It's very difficult to find someone.
>
> Researcher: Would you say that finding employees is one of the biggest challenges for tourism in Greenland?
>
> Research participant: Yes, I think so. Definitely for us … For us, it's getting too hard, because of this. And that's why I also—we have all these people we're working with [pointing at the map]. We have some that we really work a lot with, because they get involved and we can rely on them.
>
> (Interview excerpt, own research data, April 2018)

When talking about collaboration as part of daily life practices, the emerging maps are not "a static representation of information, but rather a set of relations that emerge through events and processes" (Barry, 2017: 331). Through the joint process of life mapping, maps are therefore continuously talked about and discussed and work "as 'papers in progress' between researcher and research-participant" (Hviid and Beckstead, 2008: 161). Hence, the life maps can (but do not necessarily have to) be visual representations of the overall picture of the collaborative landscape in Greenland at the time of their creation during the diagramming process. They can depict the existing situation and represent a snapshot. They can also comprise desired future formations and collaborations. In other words, the life maps might also be a mirror for possible collaborative activities and a potential collaborative tourism landscape, which is not yet in place.

What is important is that the researcher and research participant co-construct the process. Such an approach aims to create an environment in which actors feel comfortable to share and exchange knowledge and experiences, but also to reflect, enhance, and reconsider views and practices (Hasse and Milne, 2005). As a non-verbal and visual medium of representation, the mapping exercise provides researcher and research participant with an opportunity to "talk." They can express themselves in a more "pleasant" way of communicating and/or might be able to put "words" onto aspects, such as everyday life practices, that are otherwise difficult to articulate.

In the context of Greenland, the interviewees were mainly Greenlandic and some of them Danish-speaking (referring to the language as their mother tongue). Neither Greenlandic nor Danish is my mother tongue. This precondition can be problematic when aiming to reach and talk to members of the local communities. First, I cannot expect research participants to speak my own mother tongue, which is German. Second, English is the third language for most of the interviewees with whom I was in contact, after Danish (as the second language taught from first grade, Statistics Greenland, 2018). And thirdly, it is also foolhardy to assume that it is possible for me

to learn Greenlandic. I therefore required additional "navigational tools other the spoken language" (Marschall, 2013: 8), and mapping became a way to mitigate the dependence on linguistic proficiency—for both sides.

As noted by Brennan-Horley et al. (2010) in an article on mapping technologies as forms of ethnographic methodologies, such processes activate "a different attitude to the interview situation on the part of the participants than a more straightforward and expected question-and- answer format" (p. 96). In my own experience, the "creative experiment" of life mapping changed the atmosphere of the interview in many cases from a more formalized setting in the beginning to a more relaxed tune once the life mapping had started (see below, own research data, April 2018).

> Researcher: Anyway, I'd like to try an experiment and I hope you're up for a bit of a creative task?
>
> Research participant: Like—you're creative or I'm the creative one?
>
> Researcher: You're the creative one.
>
> Research participant: Oh, uh, OK, well … I'm short on coffee [laughing], but I'll give it a shot.
>
> Researcher: Great. If you think about the collaborations you have, how would you visualize them?
>
> Research participant: How to visualize…? Hmmmm, like drawing?
>
> Researcher: Drawing, writing, doing a sketch, anything. Whatever comes to mind. Research participant: OK, here we go [starts to draw].

The participatory diagramming holds "the inherent potential of painting a more nuanced depiction of lived realities, while simultaneously empowering the research participants and placing the agency literally [also] in their … hands" (Literat, 2013: 12). The manner in which this process was applied is introduced in the following section.

The process of co-creating 'life maps'

The participatory diagramming process took place during "classic" qualitative interviews, and an interview guide was developed to outline guiding questions. These guiding questions mainly function as "interview openers." Prior to the interview, the research participants did not know that there would be a diagramming exercise, and it was unknown how the respective research participants would perceive the creative task of drawing. As a "cold start" might have overwhelmed the

research participants, it seemed reasonable to start the interview with a few opening questions. These questions were of a general nature regarding the participant's workplace, tasks, and so forth.

I decided on the moment to start with the diagramming exercise depending on the situation. In some instances, the research participant already started talking about the aspect of collaboration, and the researcher seized on this to start the exercise (as illustrated in the citation below, own research data, April 2018).

> Research participant: Exactly. More and more Greenlandic tour operators are coming. XX, for example, from Qaqortoq and also Narsaq. We work together with XX and YY. Researcher: As we're already getting into the collaborations you have with others, I'd like to do a small experiment. How would you visualize the collaborations you have? Could you draw them on this piece of paper?
>
> Research participant: Does it need to be a nice drawing?
>
> Researcher: Not at all. You can draw or write. Whatever you like. I'm trying to unfold how actors work on the ground. Who you work together with and that kind of thing. You already mentioned quite a lot of partners you work with and others you'd like to work with in the future.

In other cases, I chose a moment that fit the flow of conversation. In the following excerpt, for example, the research participant and I were talking in general terms about the tourism landscape in the area, and the research participant's statement initiated the starting of the diagramming:

> Researcher: It seems to me that there is a vivid discussion on how to develop tourism in the future.
>
> Research participant: Yes, for sure. We don't know the future yet, but we talk together about it and work together. So things might happen.
>
> Researcher: That leads me to my next questions on who you work with and how. And how would you visualize it on this piece of paper?
>
> Research participant: We work with everybody. In a situation like now, where tourism is growing, it's very positive. Everybody is getting more. In a situation where it's the other way around it would be different. But right now—yesterday we had XX coming by and presenting what they do. We work with them. Then we had YY dropping by. We're working close with their competitor, but we also use their services. We work with everybody. That's the tourism landscape in Nuuk [pointing at the finished drawing].

> Researcher: Where are you?
>
> Research participant: We're one of the bubbles. We're here and work together with everybody.
>
> Researcher: So everyone is in this one bubble and works together—How?
>
> (Interview excerpt, own research data, March 2019)

Aiming to keep the process as open as possible, the research participants were asked: "How would you visualize the collaborations you have?" This initial question, aiming to start the diagramming process, led to diverse and different reactions and, as shown in section four, to the emergence of very different and diverse life maps. However, most of the research participants were in fact surprised about the task and started in similar ways—as this one excerpt from one interview situation aptly demonstrates (own research data, April 2018):

> Research participant: OK. Well … interesting. I'll try.
>
> Researcher: You're free to do whatever you want. It could be organizations, institutions, businesses, municipality, the choir, etc. Anyone you work with, partners you would like to have, and so on.
>
> Research participant: OK. Should I draw or write? Researcher: Whatever you prefer. That's up to you.

During the drawing process, the researcher asked clarifying questions (see the two interview examples below). Decoding the drawings was sometimes difficult, and the questions aimed at getting information about what was drawn (as the drawings were sometimes not named/labelled and/or such labels were sometimes illegible).

Example 1:

Researcher: Where are you [pointing at the drawing]?

Research participant: We're one of the bubbles. We're here and work together with everybody.

Researcher: So everyone is in this one bubble and works together—How?

Example 2:

Research participant: OK. Well, when we write the museum here. Then we have the tourism industry here.

Researcher: Who is the tourism industry for you?

Research participant: Right now, it's the local tourism actors. All the ones working with tourism.

Researcher: I'd like to try an experiment with you. I'm working on mapping the collaborative landscape in Greenland. And I'd like to ask you to draw your collaborations. How would you visualize your collaboration?

Research participant: Well, that's actually going to be very simple. There's just the hotel and then some others. Here in the local area, there's just XX. They're the only ones we directly work with.

Researcher: So when we have the hotel on this piece of paper, what then? I'm trying to motivate you to draw right?

Research participant: Yes, yes. I know [laughing and starting to draw].

The drawing process and the researcher's questions to the emerging life maps prompted the research participants to (re-)think their drawings and verbalize thoughts regarding their own (in some instances missing) position on the maps, connections, and relationships that they have or would like to have with other actors.

After the presentation of the process of creating life maps, the following section will address the everyday practices that these maps actually reveal.

Life maps—What do they show?

As part of my own research project, 42 life maps were co-created with multiple tourism actors in fieldwork in different parts of Greenland in the period June 2017 to July 2019. An exhaustive presentation of all of these created maps would exceed the scope of this chapter. Three maps were therefore chosen and will be presented in the following. These maps are briefly introduced and described to present "what they show" in order to explore the collaboration concept.

Every life map is a symbolic representation presenting us with information about how the research participants view collaboration, and each of them provides very particular insights into collaborative practices. Each individual research participant chose a different way of "how to visualize" their collaborations. The visualization of these mundane practices and collaborative instances are crucial in connection with the verbal interview data.

The following interview excerpt (own research data, April 2018) demonstrates three essential aspects when talking about the concept of collaboration: the perceived lack

of collaboration (despite it actually existing!), the importance of infrastructure in the context of collaboration, and organizational structures as agents for collaboration.

> Researcher: I'm trying to find out what collaborations you have—who do you work with? How does it work? And so on.
>
> Research participant: Well that will be very short. There is **no cooperation**. I have been in the tourism business for 20 years now. I have my own business here. In the beginning, there were a lot of possibilities, a good infrastructure. There were passenger boats to all the settlements. Flights three times a week … We had a **good infrastructure**, which also meant that we had **good possibilities to cooperate** … we all united as tourism destination … We formed [the DMO[4]]. We built up a **good organization** … [I]t was a well-functioning organization … We **worked together regarding developing products and providing services** to cruise ships. We represented the destination abroad to different companies to sell our products … It was a good organization and close cooperation. In 2009, [it] was restructured … we didn't receive support and we couldn't exist anymore. There were different reasons, but one of the major reasons was the missing funding. We weren't able to proceed. We were left alone. … I'm the only one left that works with tourism fulltime, year-round. […]
>
> Researcher: As we're already talking so much about it, could you draw your collaboration for me?
>
> Research participant: I write XX. I have no collaboration with YY. We were working together before, but … [we] don't collaborate anymore. In relation to XX, I also have an incoming agency … I sell them tours and accommodations. And in order to do that, I **work together** with XX a lot. We help each other if necessary … With ZZ [pointing at a circle outside with no link to the research participant in the middle] there's no cooperation … It doesn't work yet, but it's necessary if we're going to make a good tourism destination … They have to learn to cooperate. They're thinking too much about making money, to keep [business] for themselves and not sharing with others. The spirit of cooperation—they don't have it.

The three aspects articulated by this research participant are also reflected in other co-created life maps. The chosen three maps illustrate these aspects separately in the following sections, whereas the first life map (Figure 1) is co-created during the interview of this specific excerpt.

The life map in Figure 1 reveals a collaboration between some tourism actors and that the research participants do not work together with a few actors. These circumstances are marked by two-sided arrows in the map when considering existing collaborations. The actors with whom the research participant does not work together are drawn on the side without any links to other actors in the map.

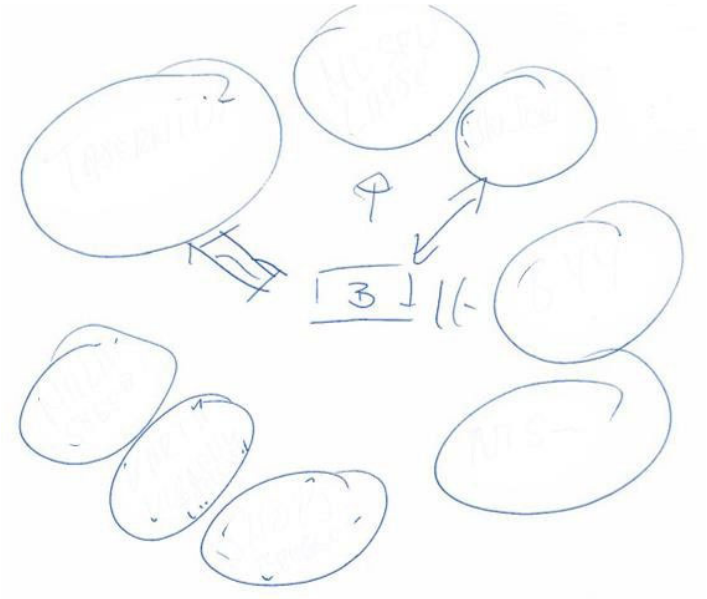

Figure 1: Life map visualizing (non-)collaborations (April 2018)

The fact that there is some collaboration among a few actors and that there are also actors who do not work together with others hardly seems surprising, as this would seem normal when thinking about collaboration in general terms. However, this specific life map is the map from the interview excerpt above. It explicitly reveals how collaborative structures exist between the tourism actors, even though the research participant explicitly stated in the beginning of the interview that there is no collaboration at all.

This example shows the significance of using life mapping to explore collaboration. As the research participant denied the existence of collaboration early in the interview, the question becomes whether a classic interview would have turned up elements of collaboration. It also shows how difficult it is for tourism actors to articulate their daily practices in detail and that the diagramming process and the emerging life maps help to initiate reflections.

Returning to the interview excerpt, the research participant mainly explains the lack of collaboration with the deficiency of physical infrastructure (in this case, in terms of transportation) as well as in the loss of the local DMO as an organizational structure. In the Arctic, the collaboration concept is heavily shaped by materials as well as structural aspects. The circumstances in Arctic destinations regarding weather conditions and infrastructure influence how actors conceive of collaboration. In the ongoing public and political discourses in Greenland, people "just" talk about these circumstances, but the following life maps (Figures 2 and 3) show the importance of infrastructure and the role of organizational structure as agents within the collaboration context.

The life map in Figure 2 illustrates the significance of infrastructure. Here, the research participant depicts both human actors and non-human actants as part of the physical and digital infrastructure creating the collaborative landscape at place.

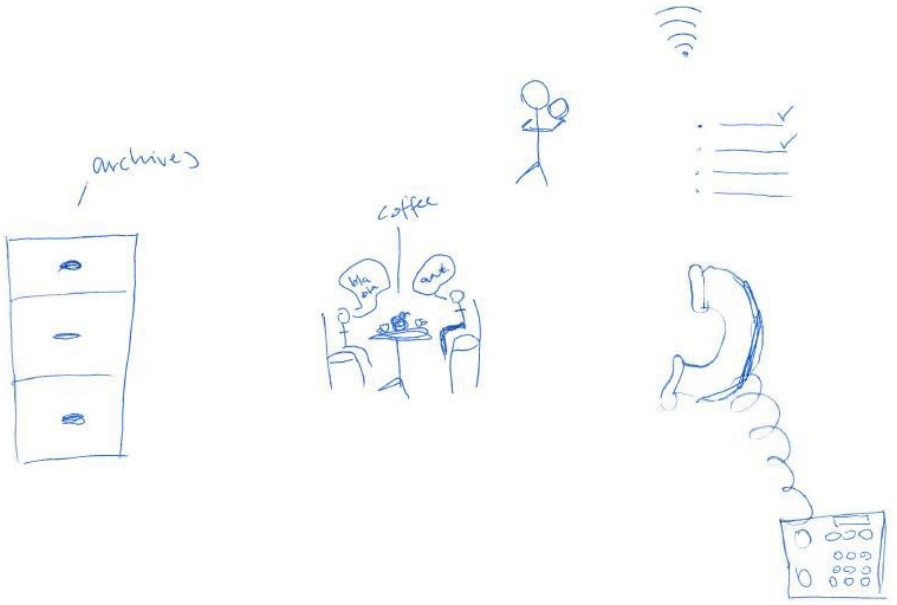

Figure 2: Life map of actors and actants as part of the physical and digital infrastructure (April 2018)

> Research participant: OK. Here's my smartphone, which is important for me to communicate with others. To get a message out and to reach as many people as possible in Greenland, I put it on Facebook. Then we have my colleagues here [pointing to the single person on the paper]. They're a huge source of knowledge. Then obviously I have contact with all kinds of people that do things … I think what's important when we talk about

> working together … I think our main issue in this is infrastructure—or the lack of it. When you're in a small town, you're like on an island. We need to be connected.

This life map and the supportive interview data render it obvious how material also matters. The human interaction is in the center of the map (with the table with two people and the single person), and the research participant draws a social situation with speaking bubbles and the word "coffee." This clipping of the map illustrates sociality. By placing it in the center of the map, the research participant emphasizes how the interpersonal social relationships are very important for her when talking about collaboration. By including physical objects in the map, however, she also makes clear that material artifacts are necessary for it to be even possible to work with others; and that this aspect is also credited high significance.

The physical infrastructure of actants—including telephones, checklists, and the archives as way of documentation and the digital infrastructure of internet connection—are equally important to the human interrelations in collaborative interactions. This life map therefore illustrates the crucial relation of non-human actors with human actors as part of enabling collaborative activities.

The combination of the physical and digital infrastructure also allows for organizational structures to form and to operate, such as DMOs as an element in the tourism landscape. The research participant in this interview excerpt emphasizes the importance of "a well-functioning organization [for working] together" (Research participant, own research data, April 2018). In Greenland, the tourism structure and how it is organized varies from region to region, and questions on where to go and how to do tourism are constantly debated amongst Naalakkersuisut5, representatives of diverse organizations (public and private) and local tourism entrepreneurs in different settings from public hearings, conferences, seminars, and workshops.

Undeniably, "there are different ways to do it. What's important is [the question on] who takes care of the development … Who coordinates and launches [ideas and proposals]? How do we want to work together on this?" (Research participant, data from own PhD research project, April 2018). The last life map in Figure 3 illustrates how the DMO as organizational structure is seen as helper/mediator in the organization and facilitation of tourism and its diverse actors.

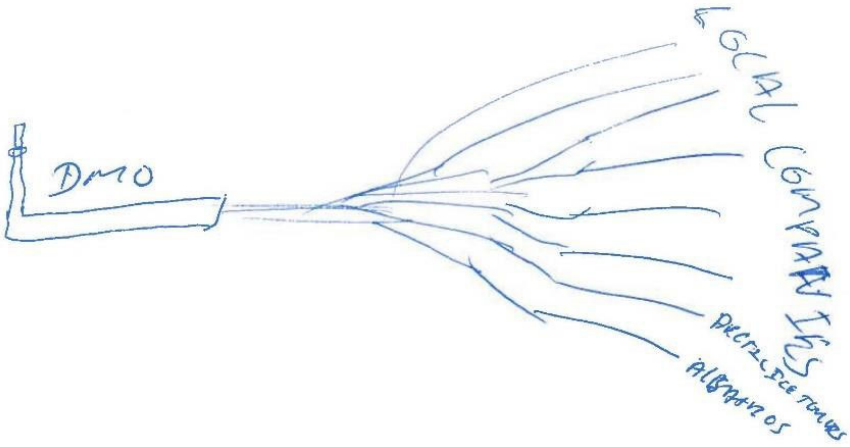

Figure 3: Example of a life map of collaborations as metaphor—the dog sled

> Researcher: That actually leads me to my next question, and I'd like to try a little experiment. Who do you collaborate with, and how would you visualize these collaborations?
>
> Research participant: We just talked a bit about this actually in Ilulissat, and we had a difficult time trying to figure it out. You can think about it along the lines of a dog sled… [There are] many small local businesses. And they need a lot of knowledge. That's mainly what we do here. Us in the council … That's why I think it is us on the sled— because we can help them go in the direction they want. The example doesn't really work that way, because all of them don't necessarily move exactly the same way. That's something we need to help them with and make them aware of. If you want more tourism, you need to understand that we need to move together toward this goal. And even though most of the companies are competitors, they also need to understand that they need to work together to get more tourists. A lot of them don't offer accommodations, and those who do offer accommodations don't necessarily offer tours. And some of them who offer tours, like dog sledding, need others that also do dog sledding—because if a group of 30 comes along, then they need a lot of dog sleds… They always need to work together. And when they do, it actually works better. It isn't me deciding where we're going. I need these guys. If they don't want to be part of it, then they start going in all kinds of directions—without really moving the sled.

Here, the DMO as organization is considered as agent, enabling collaboration by aiming to unite the diverse tourism actors in the destination. As illustrated in the life map and supported by the interview data, the DMO takes an active role. The DMO

functions as an agent, mediating between actors and bringing them together to collaborate. This organization also takes the position of the musher by sitting on the dog sled (see Figure 3) and steering the tourism actors. It actively shapes the tourism landscape. Another research participant working for a DMO explains how:

> "[i]t's important to note that [tourism actors] need knowledge and resources, which are very much based on the language skills needed to interact with tourists and the creation of the produce. It's [also] important to know what the [tourism actors] need to give the tourist a good experience and the other way around. We [the DMO] get to play a part in that. We have service courses coming up this year. We provide some language courses. [With these activities] we help actors to develop their business and create a better product"
>
> (Research participant, data from own PhD research project, March 2019).

Reflections—Outcomes for the collaboration concept

As argued throughout this chapter, exploring the concept of collaboration can be difficult due to its entanglements with practices so inherent to our daily life. The presentation of the co- created life maps of Greenlandic tourism actors reveals how the collaboration concept is highly diverse and enables us to gain a deeper understanding of collaboration.

As termed by Gray (1985, 1989; Wood and Gray, 1991) and as argued by the vast majority of tourism scholars, the collaboration concept represents a framework that helps to create an understanding of how and why actors meet and act jointly (Morris and Miller-Stevens, 2016a). The reason for doing so is seen in the process of trying to "constructively explore … differences and search for solutions that go beyond [the] own limited vision of what is possible" (Gray, 1989: 5).

Based on the empirical data from my own research, I argue that this widely used theoretical framework cannot exploit its full analytical potential and create valuable knowledge for the research participants and researcher. As illustrated above, research participants understand collaboration differently. Even though they were all asked the same question and given the exact same task, different layers of information and multiple levels of abstraction become apparent through the diagramming process and creation of life maps.

Based on the empirical data and fieldwork experience, the combination of verbal and visual elements initiates reflections on practices in the researcher–research participant dialogue and the co-created visualization of life maps. This process potentially activates new thoughts and considerations and provides research

participant and researcher alike with new knowledge. Depicting all of the various forms of collaborative activities and landscapes challenges the collaboration concept, as the emerging life maps literally illustrate the diversity of the concept. This casts light on its ontological complexity, which has previously received limited attention.

So what? Implications and perspectives

In terms of investigating the concept of collaboration as part of daily practices, the research process can be conducted with an analytical distance to the research subject by investigating it from the "outside." However, in order to do research meaningfully and to create knowledge derived from research matter in practice (Flyvbjerg, 2001, 2004, 2005, 2006), we researchers must rethink our ways of research by considering our own role as researchers and reconsider how we engage with local communities, our fellow scholars, and other interested groups.

One way of doing so has been presented in this chapter based on collaborative life mapping. I engaged in and aimed to create a research process that is collaborative in nature with respect to worldview, methodology, and research subject (see Figure 4).

Figure 4: Approach to co-exploring the collaboration concept

Collaborative research incorporating a collaborative worldview and methodology making use of collaborative methods creates the grounds for a "fresh start" and aims to initiate the turn toward rethinking existing research practices in the Arctic by engaging Arctic communities in research practices and co-creating research outcomes relevant for both the local and research communities. This creates space for new ways of knowing. In my own research, life mapping stimulated new thoughts and reflections among the research participants about their own practices. This produced new knowledge on both sides of the interview table (see citations below, own research data, November 2018).

Example 1: Now as we talk about it. By looking at it, I think…

Example 2: I think I'm going to do this for real, this graph. You don't really think about these relations normally.

The creation of knowledge and raising of awareness can empower local actors to take an active stand in the ongoing discussions concerning tourism development and the questions "Where are we? Where are we going? And what's needed to get there?" (Naalakkersuisut, 2015). These questions are widely debated and contested by local tourism actors, who indicate that they do not feel included in the process of developing tourism in their own country, even though they represent the main actors responsible for the operational work (Ren and Chimirri, 2017). A collaborative approach potentially leads to capacity building, which is considered crucial in relation to the future tourism development of this Arctic destination and must be explored in further research.

Notes

1 The term "research participant," as used by Kesby (2000), is used throughout this chapter as it identifies the interviewee as being the knowledge carrier. The participant's experience and knowledge are valorized and the agency lies within the participant. The researcher detaches their own self from the "expert status." This relationship is characterized as reciprocal throughout the research process.

2 Anonymized, as it is irrelevant for the meaning of the statement from which country this research team came from. Similar situations apply to researchers from other countries.

3 As termed by Aristotle, "phronesis" is practical wisdom, practical judgement, common sense, or prudence. While based on Aristotle's original concept, it is more of a lived practice for Flyvbjerg (2001), which derives from a familiarity with the unpredictability and uncertainties of social practices (Schram, 2012).

4 Abbreviation for Destination Management Organization

5 The government of Greenland.

References

Barry, K. (2017). Diagramming: A creative methodology for tourist studies. Tourist Studies, 17(3): 328–46. https://doi.org/10.1177/1468797616680852.

Brennan-Horley, C., Luckman, S., Gibson, C., and Willoughby-Smith, J. (2010). Gis, ethnography, and cultural research: Putting maps back into ethnographic mapping. Information Society, 26(2): 92–103. https://doi.org/10.1080/01972240903562712.

Flyvbjerg, B. (2001). Making Social Science Matter: Why Social Inquiry Fails and How it Can Succeed Again. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Flyvbjerg, B. (2004). Phronetic Planning Research: Theoretical and Methodological Reflections. Planning Theory & Practice, 5(3): 283–306.

Flyvbjerg, B. (2005). Social Science That Matters. Foresight Europe.

Flyvbjerg, B. (2006). Making Organization Research Matter: Power, Values, and Phronesis. In

W. R. Clegg, S. R., Hardy, C., Lawrence, T. B. and Nord, W. R. (Ed.), The SAGE Handbook of Organization Studies (2nd ed., 370–87). Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications.

Gray, B. (1985). Conditions Facilitating Interorganizational Collaboration. Human Relations, 38(10): 911–36.

Gray, B. (1989). Collaborating: Finding Common Ground for Multiparty Problems. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass Inc.

Hasse, J. C. and Milne, S. (2005). Participatory Approaches and Geographical Information Systems (PAGIS) in Tourism Planning. Tourism Geographies, 7(3): 272–89. https://doi.org/10.1080/14616680500164666.

Holm, L. K., Grenoble, L., and Virginia, R. (2011). A praxis for ethical research and scientific conduct in Greenland. Études/Inuit/Studies, 35(1–2): 187. https://doi.org/10.7202/1012841ar.

Hviid, P. and Beckstead, Z. (2008). Dialogues about Research. In M. Märtsin et al. (Ed.), Dialogicality in Focus. Challenges to Theory, Method and Application. New York: Nova Science Publishers.

Kesby, M. (2000). Participatory Diagramming: Deploying Qualitative Methods through an Action Research Epistemology. Area, 32(4): 423–35.

Kesby, M., Kindon, S., and Pain, R. (2005). "Participatory" approaches and diagramming techniques. In R. Flowerdew and D. Martin (Eds.), Methods in Human Geography. A Guide for Students Doing a Research Project (144–65).

Ladkin, A. and Bertramini, A. M. (2002). Collaborative tourism planning: A case study of Cusco, Peru. Current Issues in Tourism, 5(2): 71–93. https://doi.org/10.1080/13683500208667909.

Literat, I. (2013). "A pencil for your thoughts": Participatory drawing as a visual research method with children and youth. International Journal of Qualitative Methods, 12(1): 84–98. https://doi.org/10.1177/160940691301200143.

Marschall, A. (2013). Transforming subjectivity When aiming for mutually transformative processes in research with children. Outlines : Critical Practice Studies, 14(2): 160–83.

Marschall, A. (2017). When everyday life is double looped. Exploring children's (and parents') perspectives on post-divorce family life with two households. Children and Society, 31(5): 342–52. https://doi.org/10.1111/chso.12202.

Morris, J. C. and Miller-Stevens, K. (2016a). Advancing Collaboration Theory: Models, Typologies, and Evidence (Vol. 13). New York: Routledge.

Morris, J. C. and Miller-Stevens, K. (2016b). The State of Knowledge in Collaboration. In J.

C. Morris and K. Miller-Stevens (Eds.), Advancing Collaboration Theory: Models, Typologies, and Evidence (3–13). Routledge.

Naalakkersuisut. (2015). Turismeudvikling i Grønland – hvad skal der til? National sektorplan for turisme 2016–2020. Retrieved from 2016–2020/Turismeudvikling i Grønland - hvad skal der til - DK.pdf

Pain, R. and Francis, P. (2003). Reflections on participatory research. Area, 35(1): 46–54. https://doi.org/10.1111/1475-4762.00109.

Ren, C. and Chimirri, D. (2017). Turismeudvikling i Grønland – afdækning og inspiration.

Ren, C. and Chimirri, D. (2018). Turisme i Grønland – før, nu og i morgen. Tidsskriftet Grønland, 4/2018: 295–302.

Ren, C., Jóhannesson, G. T., and Van der Duim, R. (2017). Co-Creating Tourism Research. In

R. Ren, G. T. Jóhannesson, and R. Van der Duim (Eds), Co-creating Tourism Research. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315393223.

Schram, S. (2012). Phronetic social science: An idea whose time has come. In B. Flyvbjerg, T. Landman, and S. Schram (Eds), Real Social Science: Applied Phronesis (15–26). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Statistics Greenland. (2018). Greenland in Figures 2018. Retrieved from http://www.stat.gl/publ/en/GF/2018/pdf/Greenland in Figures 2018.Pdf

Thomas, G. (2012). Phronetic social research: Putting power in context. Panel paper: "Research in context: Three approaches to thinking phronetically." Paper presented at the SPA/EASP York 2012 "Social policy in an unequal world" (July 17, 2012). York, UK.

Wood, D. J. and Gray, B. (1991). Toward a comprehensive theory of collaboration. The Journal of Applied Behavioral Science, 27(2): 139–62. https://doi.org/10.1177/0021886391272001.

Appendix E. Article: *Studying how tourism is done. A practice approach to collaboration*

Chimirri, D. (accepted/in press). Studying how tourism is done. A practice approach to collaboration. *Tourist Studies.*

Abstract

This article seeks to contribute to empirically grounded theoretical conceptualizations of 'collaboration', by offering a practice-theoretical take on both tourism and one of its pillars: daily tourism actor collaboration. It argues that practice theory offers an important approach to investigating tourism in applied situations. This is empirically illustrated by drawing on data material generated via interviews and life map methodology during four fieldwork stays in West, South and East Greenland. By focusing on 'what happens on the ground', this article unfolds the ontological complexity of collaborative practices as heterogeneous and constantly emerging, disappearing, and shifting, a complexity which challenges the notion of collaboration as strategical tool for tourism planning and development. As an alternative, the practice theory approach presented here offers a more viable, concretely situated alternative to investigating the phenomenon of tourism as collaborative action.

Introduction

Collaboration is key in tourism. No doubt about it, many tourism players will instantaneously agree. Nevertheless, what kind of collaboration is implied in this elementary statement? Is collaboration a clearly delimited activity that denotes one specific way of working together in tourism, perhaps even a 'strategical tool', implementable in order to plan and develop tourism? Is it a phenomenon that can be used to streamline different activities, initiated and upheld by different collaborators, to achieve a best possible result? What will be proposed on the following pages, rather, is a more dynamic, practice-theoretical understanding of 'collaboration', one that departs from practice in order to study this phenomenon ideally in all its complexities, in all its variations, and from all it renders possible or not. This approach conceives of collaboration as a phenomenon whose expressions are as manifold as its practitioners, which must be worked with in situated, locally unique ways, to achieve as good results as possible from the practitioners' perspectives.

Accordingly, the article at hand opens up with problematizing that, despite a continuously diversifying body of literature on collaboration in tourism (Morris and Miller-Stevens, 2016), many scholars tend to primarily appraise collaboration as

pivotal tool for tourism planning and development. Such studies investigate collaboration with a focus on the identification and involvement of stakeholders in the process of planning and development (Aas et al., 2005; Bramwell and Sharman, 1999; Everett and Jamal, 2004; Ladkin and Bertramini, 2002), on the maintenance of established collaboration as crucial aspect of development (Arnaboldi and Spiller, 2011; Bramwell and Lane, 2000; Jamal and Stronza, 2009; Vernon et al., 2005), or on the implementation of collaboration in order to create positive outcomes and benefits (de Araujo and Bramwell, 2002). In these studies, collaboration is regarded as clear and organized process, normatively applicable as strategic tool.

While not denying that such theoretical understandings of 'collaboration as tool' can partly help with better grasping how and why actors collaborate, it is important to underline that the various actors involved in the process enact collaboration differently and to varying ends. As Waayers et al. (2012) put it in a nutshell: collaboration constitutes a very practical and hands-on issue for actors involved and is differently expressed according to whatever the tourism practitioner is concretely working with on a daily basis. Given that different individuals and organizations draw on different motivations, interests, experiences, and knowledge, emerging practices and collaboration processes are by definition rather unorganized and partial, largely uncontrollable, continuously changing, at times contested and even controversial. Hence, the resulting complexity of collaborative practices and processes contradicts and contests the above-mentioned understanding of collaboration as controllable, plannable, and strategically applicable.

Following Waayers et al., "there is a need to explore these [collaboration] theories in applied situations" (2012: p. 673). The theoretical shortcoming of current collaboration theories is that they lack empirical grounding and relevance. Theorizing collaboration requires investigations of how collaboration is understood and done in practice, i.e. studies that investigate the actual formation of collaboration(s) as such. This shortcoming is surprising from a practice theory perspective, insofar as it is precisely through how things are done, through practice(s), that "different […] actors and materials are continually connected, held together, recreated and reshuffled" (James et al., 2018: p. 1): practices always already imply collaboration. A broader set of such practices assembles into so-called complexes of practices (Shove et al., 2012), enabling and forming what we call tourism (James et al., 2018). The nature of tourism thus makes collaboration essential, but less as normative tool than as an indispensable activity of everyday life: e.g., for tourism actors to establish, maintain and reconstruct relations to other actors, or to get a hold of required materials. By drawing on such a practice-theoretical understanding, it will be shown that tourism actors already work on overcoming the often postulated 'fragmented nature of tourism' by (necessarily) collaborating on a daily basis – even in a geographically highly dispersed tourism landscape as the one found in Greenland.

Practice theory as analytical lens to study tourism

Over the past decades, practice theory approaches have been increasingly positioned as central for understanding contemporary social phenomena (Hui et al., 2017; Nicolini, 2012; Schatzki et al., 2001) – but only recently did this positioning explicitly start including the phenomenon of tourism.

Since its renaissance in the 1970s and 1980s, the concept of practice (and its various derivatives) has been continuously developed, for instance by sociologists such as Pierre Bourdieu and Anthony Giddens, or by philosophers such as Michel Foucault. Accordingly, scholars argue that this theoretical tradition consists of a wide set of converging propositions, rather than of a uniform practice theory approach (see Warde, 2014). As Warde writes, the emergence of these multiple theories of practice represent "a response to a number of fundamental problems of social theory at the point of the passing of economism and Marxism in the 1970s" (2014: p. 284). Social science theories provided either explanations for human behavior and social phenomena based on an individualistic understanding of the actor, or they adopted an abstract holistic vision focusing primarily on structure. In order to overcome this determinist polarization, social practice theorists are concerned with the reconciliation of the dualist opposition of agency and structure. The 'practice turn' in social theory of the 1990s is regarded as the heyday of these reformulations. In Theodore Schatzki's seminal reformulation (1996), largely inspired by Ludwig Wittgenstein's philosophy, practices are proposed as crucial element of any social scientific analysis of social order and personal conduct. Schatzki defines practice as "temporally unfolding and spatially dispersed nexus of doings and sayings" (1996: p. 89). Emerging practices become here the main unit of analysis. I.e., the individuals move into the background whereas their practices are brought to the fore. The individuals become carriers of practices: practitioners. As there are multiple practitioners active in any environment, emerging practices are most likely to be heterogeneous, thus creating complex and entangled aggregates of practices. As Reckwitz (2002) further unfolds, these aggregates of practices consist of interdependencies between diverse elements, including different forms of bodily as well as mental activities. Elements comprise of tangible objects and their use, as well as of intangible elements, such as knowledge in form of understanding and expertise, but also emotions and feelings.

This strand of practice theory is also relevant for and transferable to tourism. It is evident that tourism is an amalgam, an aggregate of multiple practices, which comprises of physical objects (such as airplanes, hotels, and restaurants), spaces (such as destinations, regions, places), and of the knowledge of how to interrelate these elements in order to create the so-called 'tourism product'. Practices are primary to any tourism product and service: they link them together in a bundle. Even though such practices present a coherent entity in the eyes of the tourists, what

can be generally termed as 'tourism', this bundle irrespectively consists of complexly intertwined, multifarious practices. Therefore, tourism can or even must be regarded as a 'field of practices' (Warde, 2014: p. 285) that ought to (also) be studied through the lens of practice theory.

So far, scholars have demonstrated that social practice theory is applicable to and highly relevant for studying very different activities in a variety of sectors. In the light of Warde's (2014) above analyses rather surprisingly, though, practice theory has only recently found its way into tourism research (James et al., 2018; James and Halkier, 2016; Lamers et al., 2017; Lamers and Pashkevich, 2018; Sørensen et al., 2020; de Souza Bispo, 2016). The pioneering anthology by James et al. (2018) accounts for the increased prominence of practice theories in tourism research, but also calls for further engaging in and applying theories of practice in tourism studies, as the current body of practice-theoretical literature in tourism only represents a starting point (cf. also Lamers and Pashkevich, 2018). Nevertheless, the seed is planted, and it can be assumed that practice theories will progressively be considered relevant for exploring and investigating diverse aspects of tourism. According to Schatzki (2018), it would be no surprise if practice theories indeed proved highly useful in studying tourism: After all, "tourism, like any complex social phenomenon, boasts a variety of practices and material arrangements that vary across space and evolve over time" (Schatzki, 2018: p. xiii).

That tourism research can undoubtedly benefit from an even closer engagement with social practice theories and their relevance for empirical investigations is underlined in the following section. It presents Elizabeth Shove and her colleagues' practice-theoretical approach in order to study the tourism landscape in Greenland, with a particular focus on the centrality of collaboration for making tourism practice work in this geographically highly dispersed context.

Practicing tourism collaboration

Complexes or assemblages of practices enable and create what we call tourism (James et al., 2018), and what connects these complexes of practices is, as will be empirically illustrated below: *collaboration*.

According to Shove et al., the successful assembly of emerging practices relies on three interrelated and constitutive elements: meaning, material and competence (2012: p. 14 ff.). Meanings refer to intangible aspects, such as social and symbolic significance that motivate actors to participate in and be part of practices. Materials refer to objects, tangible physical entities, and technologies, such as for example infrastructures, tools, hardware, and the body itself (cf. also Shove et al., 2007). Competences encompass knowledge, skills, know-how, and mental as well as manual techniques.

Based on Shove et al. (2012), in order for practices to emerge, meanings ascribed to present or potential practices need to be either the same or at least similar. When applied to the field of tourism, this implies that meanings would otherwise need to shift, so that tourism actors value practices similarly and/or congruently. Otherwise, practices will not emerge. The shifting of meanings might also occur through present and emerging practices that the respective tourism actors does not directly engage in at the time, but are practices that the practitioner merely follows. In addition to same or similar meanings, tourism actors need to have sufficient access to required materials and resources (e.g., financial means, digital and physical infrastructure) in order to be able to engage in and be part of emerging practices. Finally, tourism actors need to possess competences (e.g., expertise, skills and techniques) necessary to engage in and carry out practices. If not, they need to be (at least) willing to acquire competences prior to engaging in or while being part of already emerging practices. Thus, practices are also generative in the sense that they in turn can produce meanings, materials, and new competences.

This application to the tourism sector is in line with what Shove et al. call the three 'circuits of reproduction' (2012: p. 97 ff.). Here in circuit 1, the configuration of one or all of the three constitutive elements need to be consistent and recurrent. Configurations are shaped by previous as well as coexisting practices (circuit 2). Furthermore, there needs to be a connection – so-called 'feedback' – between emerging enactments and already existing practices (circuit 3). Lamers and Pashkevich draw on this terminology and consider tourism actors capable of altering practices, "by changing the configuration of the elements (circuit 1) or creating connections between various practices (circuit 2 and 3)" (2018: p. 443). According to Shove et al. (2012), actors do so by creating and engaging in *collaborative practices*, i.e. by establishing, forming and maintaining, but also by altering, recreating and reshuffling collaborations.

Seen in this light, the study of collaboration in tourism could well benefit from being explored through a practice theory lens, by focusing on how it is done or practiced, rather than by normatively proclaiming that collaboration is first and foremost useful in strategic terms in order to fulfil calculated or beforehand planned purposes. This will exemplarily be illustrated in the following sections by engaging in a practice-theoretically inspired analysis of fieldwork material generated with tourism actors/practitioners in Greenland on their concrete everyday collaboration with others. Central to this analysis is that it zooms in and stays with concrete practices that are happening on the ground, including their constitutive elements: meanings, materials and competences (according to Shove et al., 2012). These are identified and explored in regard to how they contribute to creating, maintaining, reproducing, practices, but also to challenging or even destroying practices.

Researching collaborative practices: approaching the complex empirical reality of Greenland's tourism

Greenland is the world's largest island, with a population of only 56,000 inhabitants (Statistics Greenland, 2019). It is geographically located on the North American continent, but is geopolitically regarded as a part of Europe. Tourism in Greenland has been practiced in an organized way since the 1960s (Christensen, 1992; Johnston and Viken, 1997; Kaae, 2002, 2006). From the time Greenland's status changed from a colony to becoming a Danish province in 1953, authorities planned to develop the tourism sector and hereby open the country for an increasing number of tourists (Tommasini, 2011). Indeed, tourism grew over the years. The national DMO *Visit Greenland* recently reported that in the period of 2016-2018, overnight stays increased by 10.8%, and the number of cruise passengers by a whopping 88.7%, culminating in almost 260.000 overnights stays and 45.739 cruise passengers in total in 2018 (Visit Greenland, 2020). Even though tourism is still a relatively new and small sector in economic terms, when compared to the longer established traditional sectors of fishery and mining, it increasingly contributes to the turnover and employment rate in many professions, e.g., transportation by air and sea, accommodation and catering, tourist produces and services, etc. (Naalakkersuisut, 2016; Statistics Greenland, 2019). Accordingly, the role of tourism in Greenland has transformed from its beginnings in the 1960s until today, altering the political and public interest in and the focus on tourism and its development (Bjørst and Ren, 2015; Ren and Chimirri, 2017, 2018).

Tourism actors interviewed in the context of a previous research project, which mapped the tourism landscape of Greenland (see Ren and Chimirri, 2017), all pointed out that collaboration is a crucial element for them to be able to operate in and cope with the challenging environment of Greenland's tourism surroundings. Inspired by these findings, further fieldwork with a specific focus on the practitioners' collaboration was conducted in four different geographical areas of Greenland between April 2018 and July 2019: in West, South and East Greenland, conducted in the towns and settlements of Sisimiut, Kangerlussuaq, Nuuk, Maniitsoq, Qaqortoq, Narsarsuaq, Nanortalik, Kulusuk, and Tasiilaq (see fig. 1). The findings reported here are read through a practice-theoretical lens, and are thereby to offer empirical insights on the potentials and challenges of how tourism is concretely practiced in Greenland.

Figure 1: Map of Greenland with marked places of fieldwork (adapted from ASIAQ Greenland Survey, 2020)

The research material includes 40 semi-structured interviews with 44 research participants[18] (referred to in the following as either RP/RPs, when unspecified/not relevant to distinguish or RP1, RP2, etc. when referring to one specific RP). During four of the interviews, two RPs were present instead of one interviewee alone. The topics of the interviews included descriptions of day-to-day practices, including challenges and opportunities of operating in tourism, the participants' collaborations with others, and their hopes and wishes for the future development of Greenland's tourism field. The process by which the research participants were recruited was rather pragmatic, i.e. based on a convenience sampling. The author of this paper contacted tourism actors in the area to be visited, asking if they wanted to collaborate with the author and thus contributing to the authors PhD project by meeting and sharing their knowledge in an interview. The only criterion for choosing the research participants was their connection to the tourism field. While this might seem unsystematic, this sampling approach enabled the author to obtain a relatively wide range of stakeholders, including small and individual actors, incoming tour operators, cultural institutions, service providers and representatives of governmental bodies. In addition to the interviews, RPs created 42 life maps (see examples in fig. 2) during the interviews. The method of 'life mapping' was to initiate a collaborative exploration of collaborative practices in more experiential detail, and it proved very useful for this purpose (which is shown in an upcoming book chapter in the book *Collaborative Methods in Arctic Research: Experiences from Greenland* by Hansen & Ren, 2020). The resulting visualizations of collaborations allowed for complementing verbalized considerations and reflections of the interview data, and in that way substantiate the empirical material as a whole.

[18] The term 'research participant' is used throughout this paper to identify the interviewees of this project. In contrast to the term informant and/or interviewees, the term 'research participant' is to put focus on the agency of the people involved in the research project. The agency lies with them, as they are considered knowledge carriers, and their experience and knowledge are considered indispensable for gaining relevant insights. The researcher rejects an a priori 'expert status', and the relationship to the participants is characterized as reciprocal and ontologically equal.

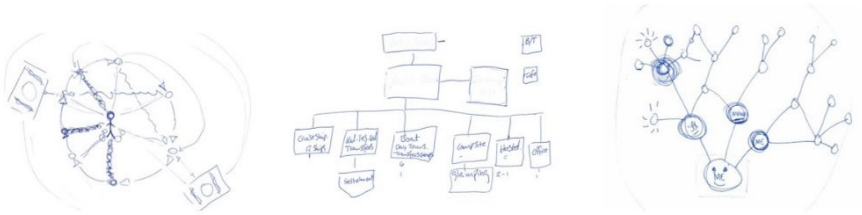

Figure 2: Examples of life maps (fieldwork data, April 2018 – July 2019)

The transcribed interviews were analyzed in combination with the life maps. As Neuman (1997) argues "analysis means a search for patterns in data" (p. 426, in Kohlbacher, 2006: p. 9), and the analysis at hand searched for patterns by applying Shove et al.'s (2012) constitutive elements of practices – meaning, material and competence – as central parameters for a qualitative content analysis. Qualitative content analysis "is a method of analyzing written, verbal or visual communication messages" (Elo & Kyngäs, 2008: p. 107, with reference to Cole, 1988). In this article, these 'messages' refer both to the interviews and the created life maps. Both types of data material were thus read through Shove et al.'s (2012) constitutive elements. In particular, the analysis foregrounds how meanings, materials and competences enable collaborative practices or, conversely, how the absence and/or malfunction of these elements compromises and even prevents them. Naturally, an exhaustive presentation of all of the created life maps as well as complete citations of all interviews would exceed the scope of this article. Therefore, illustrative examples are presented, which not only demonstrate the constitutive elements of practice, but are also exemplary with regard to what other research participants expressed via their life maps and interview statements.

In line with Shove et al. (2012), the upcoming insights focus empirically and analytically on doings (in form of practices) rather than hypothetical thinking, on present material aspects rather than symbolic (political and public) rhetoric, and on embodied concrete practices rather than publicly expressed probabilities of and defined strategies for how tourism development will and should take place in Greenland (see Naalakkersuisut, 2016; Visit Greenland, 2020). This means that this paper dwells on concrete emerging practices, on how tourism is actually done in and an integrated part of Greenlandic everyday life, rather than one-sidedly focusing on Greenland's (deficient) infrastructure and tourism's strategic contributions to Greenlandic economy and society.

Collaborative practices of Greenland's tourism field

This section analyses empirical examples on the grounds of Shove et al.'s practice theory approach (2012), in which "practices are defined by interdependent relations between materials, competences and meanings" (2012: p. 24). It therefore directs attention to the *meanings* tourism actors ascribe to collaboration as part of their daily life, and to which *materials* and *competences* are considered to be needed in order to establish and maintain practices.

The following sub-sections are structured correspondingly, to show how tourism actors collaborate through meanings, materials and competences. The first section underlines how constitutive elements enable collaborative practices due to existing and continuously negotiated shared meanings, and due to sufficient access to materials and competences, building necessary conjunctions between the single elements. In contrast, the second section illustrates how frictions, malfunctioning, and the lack of these elements negatively influence the emergence of collaborative practices. Here, it becomes apparent that practices are also affected by missing linkages between constitutive elements. This can lead from disruption up to the point that it even impedes collaborative practices as a whole.

Shared meaning(s), access to materials and competences at hand

A Greenlandic company based in the West of Greenland works with online promotion and marketing, offering tourism products of their associated partners and functioning as information platform for tourists:

> "Our mission is to open whole Greenland to the whole world. […] When you are a small tour operator in a town or village here in Greenland, how do you make yourself visible for the tourists? Most of the small companies cannot do that on their own. We establish the link between them and the tourists" (RP1, West Greenland, March 2019).

The following life map (fig. 3) visualizes the company's way of working with and RP1's perspectives on collaboration.

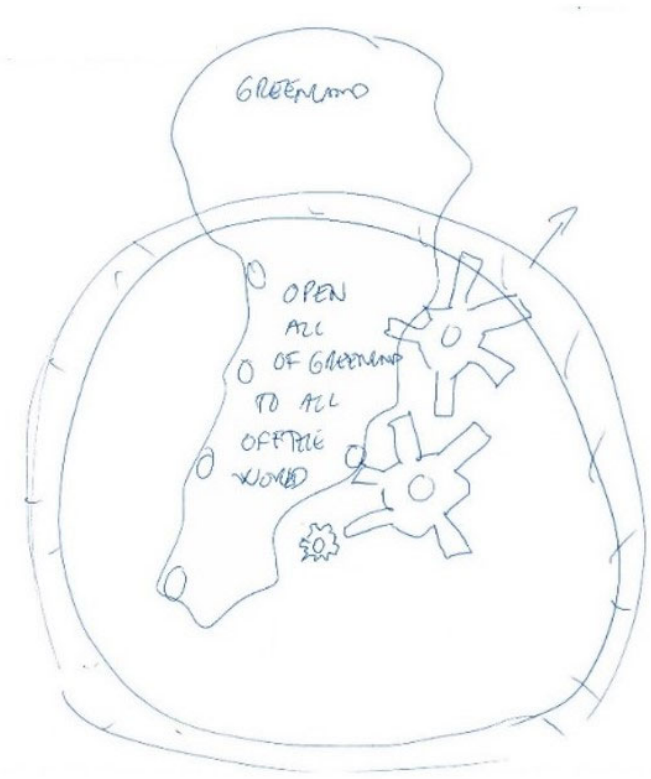

Figure 3: Life map – Tourism in Greenland as complex of wheels (RP1, West Greenland, March 2019)

The life map shows Greenland, multiple wheels in different sizes, and a large circle (encompassing the lower part of the map) with an arrow pointing to the outside (on the upper right side). In the middle of the map, the tourism actor noted down the sentence: “open all of Greenland to all of the world”. RP1 explains his life map as follows:

> RP1: We have smaller wheels and bigger ones [pointing at the different wheels]. They are interlocked and create this larger circle. That is the tourism landscape in Greenland as you see with the map of Greenland.
>
> Researcher: Where do you see yourself in this?
>
> RP1: […] We are just a small wheel in this whole thing. We are just trying to make the big wheel go around. The larger wheel is expanding [pointing

> to the arrow on the right side]. […], there is room for new actors. We see ourselves as a small helping wheel" (RP1, West Greenland, March 2019).

In this instance, the different wheels represent the individual actors and companies active in tourism. They work together, collaborate, thereby interconnecting them. These linkages represent daily practices of the actors, which make it possible for the single wheels to gear into each other. By working together, or performing collaborative practices, the smaller wheels form a larger complex of wheels, a larger wheel, setting the 'machinery' in motion. This refers to the creation of a bundle of practices: the tourism field.

By stating that the tourism actors represent the smaller parts or wheels of the bigger wheel, RP1 declares that they all collaborate for the mutual cause of making the 'tourism wheel' work. Additionally, with the arrow on the upper right side of the map, RP1 indicates that the circle grows. According to RP1, this will only happen if actors keep on working together, as they do now, and by continuously establishing additional collaborations. Other RPs express very similar perspectives on collaboration. RP2 even draws a very similar life map (see fig. 4). He explains: "We are in this one bubble and the bubble expands when we work together. It goes like this [drawing an arrow from one circle going outwards]. All the small circles get bigger and the large bubble gets bigger. If it shrinks, then we are rubbing shoulders. That would be a problem for all of us. […] When the bubble grows and these [the single circles] do not grow, then there are new spaces for other companies to come in (RP2, West Greenland, March 2019).

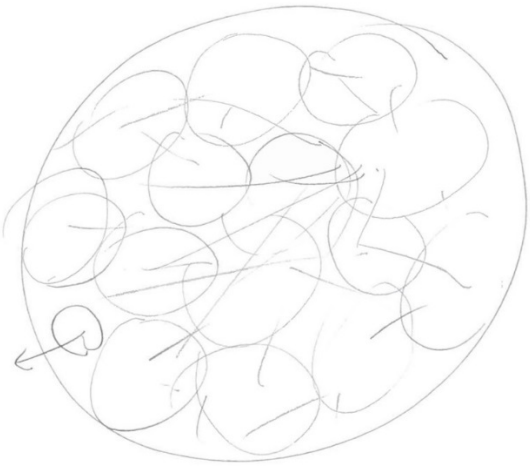

Figure 4: Tourism as bubble (research participant, West Greenland, March 2019)

RP1 and RP2 credit collaboration high importance, by underlining that it is meaningful for them to engage and establish practices with others – in other words to collaborate. In contrast, if actors do not work together, the wheels do not connect and the large wheel does not go around or, as in the additional example, new bubbles do not come into being as part of the large bubble. Thus, tourism does not happen, nor is there any development of the area. It can be concluded that both RPs share an understanding of the meaningfulness of collaboration with colleagues and other tourism actors in Greenland.

At least some basic common understandings are a prerequisite for creating a foundation for negotiations among tourism actors, for concrete collaborative activities in general, and for assisting with necessary materials and competences to establish and fulfill them. The following statement of RP1 illustrates such a common understanding amongst involved actors, in this case with regard to the establishment of a platform:

> "When we had the idea of establishing a platform, […] people were really interested and positive" (RP1, West Greenland, March 2019).

According to many practice theorists, practices are conjunctions between all three constitutive elements of practice (Shove et al., 2012). Meanings are not the most important nor the only decisive element when it comes to enabling practices. Practices are enabled through material resources and with the help of competences in form of characteristics and skills in connection to shared meanings. Practices that neither use objects nor involve bodies of competences are therefore simply inconceivable (Nicolini, 2012).

In the excerpt of RP1, the needed material primarily concerns the allocation of an online system:

> "We started to program a webpage and found out that it takes around three years to make a functional platform. During that process, we looked for inspiration and searched for best practice cases. We found [name of another similar company] […] asking if we could buy their system. They agreed and told us the price. That price was just impossible for us to pay. However, they offered that we could rent their system" (RP1, West Greenland, March 2019).

In this case, an online system is crucial for the company's existence. It enables the publishing of information and offers, online bookings, customer care, and accounting. They got only access to this system by negotiating and collaborating with another company, by sharing meaning in order to exchange materials (and competences). The following interview excerpt and life map in fig. 5, generated by RP3, further emphasizes the reliance of collaboration on material infrastructures:

RP3: Here's my smartphone, which is important for me to communicate [;] [t]o get a message out and to reach as many people as possible in Greenland […]. Then we have colleagues [pointing to the single person on the paper]. They are a huge knowledge source. Then, obviously, I have contact with all kinds of people. When we talk about collaboration, I think our main issue is infrastructure—or the lack of it. When you are in a small town, it is like you are on an island.

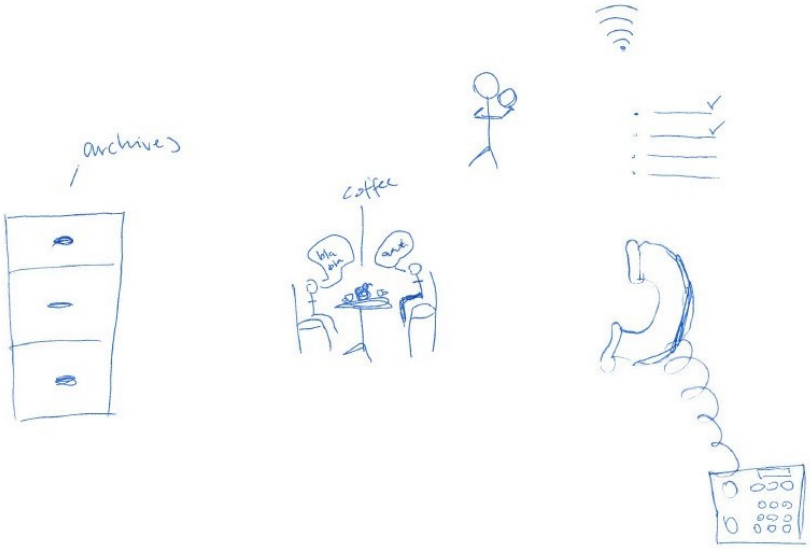

Figure 5: Life map - Materials matter (research participant, West Greenland, March 2019)

This excerpt underlines the significance of tangible objects by directly illustrating the degree of needed items (such as a filling cabinet, a table and chairs, a telephone, a checklist and a symbol for wireless internet). Just as the online system, these physical objects are considered crucial in order to operate and fulfill central working tasks.

In addition to the significance of meanings and materials as constitutive elements of practices, competences are likewise considered pivotal by multiple RPs – as already hinted at in the 'wheel' case: Creating, maintaining, and further developing an online platform requires certain competences, which Shove et al. (2012) refer to as skills, know-how and technique. Apart from the technical know-how of programming such a webpage, skills in online marketing and customer care are necessary. When visiting the company in March 2019, RP1 stated that the employed staff is educated and specialized in social media, marketing and promotion, customer relations and service, and key account management – all considered essential for running the

company. Similarly, RP3 states that her educational background is important in order to fulfill her working task. In this instance, RP3's work tasks concern collecting, registering, preserving, researching and mediating knowledge in of the cultural heritage of Greenland. These competences are of a more formal kind. Additionally, RP3 needs to be able to approach and connect with people (as indicated with the table, the coffee and the speaking bubbles on the map), exchange competences in order to develop them collaboratively.

As theoretically argued before, the existence as well as the connection between the three constitutive elements are decisive for the emergence and continuance of practices. The empirical material supports this argumentation by Shove et al. (2012). The above examples exemplify that actors share meanings, or at least meet on equal grounds to negotiate such meanings, that they have sufficient access to materials and skilled competent workforce. On these grounds, collaborative practices emerge. However, how does it look when conditions like this are absent or not as distinctly presented as in these cases? In how far do divergent meanings, the lack of materials, or the absence of competences, influence the emergence and continuance of practices, and subsequently: the forming of collaboration?

Divergent meaning(s), lack of materials and competences

An instance in which another RP (RP4) underlined the divergence of meaning(s), and the troublesome access to resources in form of materials and competences, concerned a small company located in the southern part of Greenland. RP4 described his past and current work situation as follows:

> RP4: "In the beginning, there were many possibilities. There were passenger boats to all the settlements. Three times a week flights to Denmark. […] We had a good infrastructure, which meant that we also had good possibilities to cooperate. In the middle of the 2000, we all united as tourism destination. […] We established [the regional DMO]. […] We worked together in order to develop products and providing services. We represented the destination abroad. […] It was a […] close cooperation. In 2009, the municipalities were restructured and merged into one municipality. […] Suddenly, we could not proceed mainly due to missing funding. My business and few others still exist. Others closed. That also meant that the cooperation disappeared. The areas never really recovered. The municipality tried to rebuild [the regional DMO] again. It did not work. Cooperation still does not exist. […] With [name of an actor in the village] there is no cooperation. They only think of themselves. […] They are good people, but they have to learn to cooperate. They are thinking too much about just earning money. Keep it for yourself and don't share with others. The spirit of cooperation, they don't have it. […]

> We have another person here in town, […] but he does not yet have a structure. He wants to cooperate, but it does not work yet.
>
> Researcher: Why doesn't it work yet?
>
> RP4: He is not experienced enough.
>
> Researcher: Is it a potential partner if he gets more experience?
>
> RP4: It could be. I would buy from him. Then we have the [foreign tour company]. I work with them a lot for many years. That is the absolute best cooperation. They are professionals. I need to buy services from others in order to make offers.

In this interview excerpt, RP4 refers to all three elements of practice. Starting with the meaning(s) of collaboration, it appears that tourism actors of the region aspire to diverse visions of how to work together. RP4 criticizes that failure to acknowledge and work towards a shared vision, for instance by stating that others are only thinking of themselves and their earnings. RP4 also considers another actor as "a bit closed", who "doesn't talk about" ideas he has for doing and developing tourism in the area. These statements point to a competitive way of thinking, and, more generally, to a disagreement on how to work together in the area. Both, in RP4's opinion, hinder the establishment of a more attractive and successful tourism destination. Meanwhile, RP4 also acknowledges that all potential collaborators possess different expertise and resources and that they "help each other if necessary" (referring to one of his partners). In spite of having 20 years of experience in running a successful business, he also admits to be dependent on others. Overall, RP4 feels to share a common meaning horizon with other tourism practitioners in South Greenland. However, he is also aware of local actors that do not agree with his perspective on why it is meaningful and necessary to collaborate. In consequence, arising frictions influence the constitutive element of meaning. As actors do not aspire to the same or a similar vision of collaboration, they do not consider working together as use- and meaningful. This affects the emergence of collaborative practices up to the point that certain practices – or certain collaborations – are not established at all.

However, RP4 also states that this has been different in the past, and that frictions between actors were considerably smaller. He links this to times when there was financial support, in this case by the municipality, and a functioning infrastructure. After the restructuring of the municipalities and the merging into one larger municipality, actors could not proceed due to missing funding. As RP4 underlines, this development led to a series of closures of tourism companies in this region, "the cooperation disappeared [and] the areas never really recovered". Even though the municipality "tried to rebuild [the regional DMO] again", and there has been an

apparent reconsideration of the significance and need for regional DMOs in Greenland, "it did not work [yet]. Cooperation still does not exist". In addition, RP4 stated that the well-functioning infrastructure of earlier days positively affected possibilities to collaborate, an analysis repetitively and continuously seconded by many other interviewed RPs. As theoretically argued by sociologist Anciaux, "material structures are essential to the realization of any practice" (2019: p. 9). The country's geography and its challenging circumstances in terms of seasonality and lack of connectivity is linked to high structural prerequisites, i.e., cost of materials. Here, materials range from infrastructure connecting places (nationally and regionally), means of transportation (airplane, helicopter, boat, snowmobile, dog sled), accommodation (hotels, hostels), to catering (restaurant, cafés, etc.). The favorable circumstances of earlier days, in terms of present material structures, positively influenced the quantity of tourism in the area, which boosted tourism businesses and made it necessary to work with others to assemble tourism products and services. Moreover, it can be assumed that the existing material structures also positively affected the tangible collaboration amongst actors in terms of physical, social meetings for discussion and negotiation purposes.

Structurally limited access to and the subsequent lack of materials, instead, hinder the emergence of practices, thus affecting the establishment of collaborations in Greenland. Possibilities for actions have increasingly moved further out of the practitioners' reach. Novel issues regarding material limitations furthermore emerged in recent years. The following example underlines high costs as hindrance for the acquisition of necessary materials, here in connection with digital infrastructures.

Geographical and seasonal challenges of Arctic destinations are nowadays widely discussed across political and public spheres (see Arctic Monitoring and Assessment Programme (AMAP), 2017), and digital solutions are often referred to as key (e.g., in terms of offering education in dispersed remote areas). However, the establishment and maintenance of such infrastructures is very challenging in the Greenlandic context:

> "They have established an education, which you can take online. However, internet accessibility is limited, to say the least and it costs a fortune. […] [I]f you are already struggling to put food on the table, would you pay around 900 kr. to pay for internet? That is impossible" (RP5, East Greenland, July 2019).

The quotation highlights the financial challenges involved in having relatively steady and fast access to the internet in Greenland. In this case, the internet connection would be directly needed to complete an educational degree. Lack of access to digital infrastructure/materials therefore also affects another aspect of practices – competences. The possibility of obtaining an educational degree is impeded, which

in turn influences the acquisition of competences and, in consequence, the emergence of (novel) practices. We also see the influence of missing competences on practices by returning to the case from South Greenland. Here, RP4 recognizes the ambition of another tourism actor who "wants to cooperate, but it does not work yet", as this actor "does not [.] have a structure" and is "not experienced enough [yet]". RP4 can imagine collaborating with him, if the potential partner gains further competences. Other RPs similarly mention the lack of skilled workforce:

> "We have quite a lot of projects going on, but right now they are just on hold, because we cannot get workers. […] Workforce is a huge obstacle for us. A survey shows that there are 1.000 vacant jobs ready for people to take" (RP, West Greenland, March 2018).

Meanings, materials and competences can lead to the establishment, change or demolition of collaborative practices and the three elements cannot be viewed as isolated. Rather, they relationally influence the emergence of practices, which, at least in the Greenlandic context, necessarily require collaboration.

The simultaneous emergence, disappearance and shifting of heterogeneous practices: what does it mean for tourism?

The presented analysis of collaborative practices of tourism in Greenland through a practice-theoretical lens is intended to offer a situated and thus contextually more appropriate, more complex and deeper understanding of tourism, a tourism that is practiced in everyday life by a variety of dispersed individual tourism actors and tourism collectives. The empirical examples highlight how practices emerge, persist, shift, and disappear when connections between the constitutive elements of meanings, materials and competences are established, sustained or destroyed (Shove et al., 2012: p. 14–15).

Practices emerge due to shared meanings ascribed to collaboration amongst companies, staff and associated partners, due to access to and disposal over resources, such as material structures in form of an online system, and over competences through educated and experienced staff and partners. However, collaborative practices are seen as shifting over time:

> "10 years ago we started with a magazine. […] Later, we moved to social media. [People] were asking how [they] can come to Greenland, what to do. We referred them to the national tourist board […] and never heard anything back. […] we thought about starting a travel agency. […] We developed the idea of establishing a platform, where everyone could show what he or she offers. We could re-direct the traffic from social

> media to this platform. […] Finally, that is what we did" (RP1, West Greenland, March 2019).

In this excerpt, RP1 explains shifting collaborative practices by changing circumstances and the ensuing need to adapt the product and services accordingly. Meanings needed to be re-negotiated and necessary (new) materials were obtained through newly negotiated agreements. Competences, however, remained the same. According to RP1, the staff continued "working as usual", as the online magazine required similar skills to the maintenance of the online system.

In the South Greenlandic case, collaborative practices emerged and grew stronger at times where circumstances were opportune: financial help and political support of the municipality were key. When circumstances became more complicated, practices became more difficult to maintain, and the lack of constitutive elements became even more obvious. The lack of financial resources led to company closures. The lack of expertise complicated the successful assemblage of tourism products and hindered possibilities for actors to acquire necessary competences without having a job. This led to actors increasingly failing to commit to a common vision on collaboration in tourism.

The empirical examples presented in this paper show that tourism practices, just as any other practices, are strongly interdependent and dynamic: they can constantly emerge, disappear, and shift, leading to the consolidation, adaption and vanishing of bundles of heterogeneous practices – and thus: of collaboration. The examples illustrate and further nuance how, according to James et al., "different [...] actors and materials are continually connected, held together, recreated and reshuffled" (2018: p. 1) through diversely congregating practices, which enable and form the tourism field. More in-depth descriptions of such complexes of practices can be found in Chimirri (2019), and detail how complexes of practices create different kinds of so-called 'collaborative configurations' (such as, e.g., cooperation, networking, etc.). These multiple types of collaborative configurations are, albeit manifold and diverse, linked and intertwined, and they enable and form tourism. Such micro-instances of collaborations-as-practices at a workshop showcase very similar elements and dynamics as the more general examples of practices-in-collaboration presented above, underlining the importance of looking into the seemingly mundane and innocuous daily practices of tourism actors in order to study tourism's whole.

Conclusion and implications for the collaboration concept in tourism

This article proposes to understand collaboration as multiple and entangled complexes of practices. The presented findings show the ontological complexity of collaborative practices as heterogeneous and constantly emerging, disappearing, and shifting. By doing so, practices create very different – and often very mundane – expressions of collaboration. This insight challenges the widespread instrumental

notion of collaboration as strategical tool for tourism planning and development (Bramwell & Lane, 2000; Bramwell & Sharman, 1999; Hall, 1999; Jamal and Geetz, 1995; Ladkin & Bertramini, 2002). Moreover, it calls for further situating and nuancing tourism research with regard to studying how tourism is actually done. Such a call is particularly important in times in which collaboration is playing an increasingly important role for bringing together public, nonprofit, and for-profit actors in tourism, and is considered a hallmark for establishing and maintaining regional, national and international relationships. Existing theories on collaboration are in this context helpful and important for creating an understanding of how and why actors collaborate (Gray, 1989; Wood and Gray, 1991). However, they need to be further developed to live up to and help with tackling the complex empirical reality of the ones who need to work with collaboration on a daily basis: the tourism practitioners on the ground.

The practice theory approach presented here proves to be beneficial for better grasping empirically grounded insights into the tourism field, in the given case by exploring collaborative practices amongst practitioners in Greenland. This article can neither be exhaustive in terms of discussing potentials and limitations of using practice theory to investigate tourism-related practices, nor to scrutinize it in depth for fundamentally reformulating the collaboration concept. It should rather be read as an invitation to further study these potentials and limitations bottom-up, together with tourism practitioners, with a focus on the intricate emergences and local specificities of tourism collaboration – in order to concretely help practitioners with developing socio-culturally, ecologically and economically sustainable collaborations for working together on tourism's future.

References

Aas C, Ladkin A and Fletcher J (2005) Stakeholder collaboration and heritage management, *Annals of Tourism Research*, Vol. 32(1): 28–48.

ASIAQ Greenland Survey (n.d.) Kortvisning. Available at: https://kort.nunagis.gl/portal/apps/webappviewer/index.html?id=aabf7e8375b74ed085c99add07241dfe (accessed 28 May 2020).

Anciaux A (2019) 'On Holidays, i Forget Everything. Even my Ecological Footprint': Sustainable tourism through Daily Practices or Compartmentalisation as a Keyword?, *Sustainability*, Vol. 11(17).

Arctic Monitoring and Assessment Programme (AMAP) (2017) Adaptation Actions for a Changing Arctic: Perspectives from the Bering-Chukchi-Beaufort Region, Report, Arctic Monitoring and Assessment Programme (AMAP), Norway, December.

Arnaboldi M and Spiller N (2011) Actor-network theory and stakeholder collaboration: The case of Cultural Districts, *Tourism Management*, Vol. 32(3): 641–654.

Bjørst L R and Ren C (2015) Steaming Up or Staying Cool? Tourism Development and Greenlandic Futures in the Light of Climate Change, *Arctic Anthropology*, Vol. 52(1): 91–101.

Bramwell B and Lane B (2000) *Tourism Collaboration and Partnerships. Politics, Practice and Sustainability*, Bristol: Channel View Publications.

Bramwell B and Sharman A (1999) Collaboration in local tourism policymaking", *Annals of Tourism Research*, Vol. 26(2): 392–415.

Chimirri D (2019) Collaborative configurations of tourism development: a Greenlandic example, *Journal of Tourism Futures*, Vol. 6(1): 24-39.

Christensen T (1992) Greenland wants tourism, *Polar Record*, Vol. 28(164): 62–63.

de Araujo L M and Bramwell B (2002) Partnership and regional tourism in Brazil, *Annals of Tourism Research*, Vol. 29(4): 1138–1164.

Elo, S., & Kyngäs, H. (2008). The qualitative content analysis process. *Journal of advanced nursing*, *62*(1), 107-115.

Everett J and Jamal T (2004) Multistakeholder Collaboration as Symbolic Marketplace and Pedagogic Practice, *Journal of Management Inquiry*, Vol. 13(1): 57–78.

Gray B (1989) *Collaborating: Finding Common Ground for Multiparty Problems*, San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Inc.

Hall, C M (1999). Rethinking collaboration and partnership: A public policy perspective. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, *7*(3–4), 274–289. https://doi.org/10.1080/09669589908667340

Hui A, Schatzki T and Shove E (2017) *The Nexus of Practices. Connections, Constellations, Practitioners*, Abingdon: Routledge.

Jamal, T and Getz, D (1995). Collaboration theory and community tourism planning. *Annals of Tourism Research*, *22*(1), 186–204.

Jamal T and Stronza A (2009) Collaboration theory and tourism practice in protected areas: Stakeholders, structuring and sustainability, *Journal of Sustainable*

Tourism, Vol. 17(2): 169–189.

James L. and Halkier H. (2016) Regional development platforms and related variety: Exploring the changing practices of food tourism in North Jutland, Denmark, *European Urban and Regional Studies*, Vol. 23(4): 831–847.

James L, Ren C and Halkier H (2018) *Theories of Practice in Tourism*, Abingdon: Routledge.

Johnston M E and Viken A (1997) Tourism Development in Greenland, *Annals of Tourism Research*, Vol. 24(4): 978–982.

Kaae B C (2002) Nature and Tourism in Greenland, Report, In: Watson A., Alessa L and Sproull J (eds) *Wilderness,* In*: The Circumpolar North: Searching for Compatibility in Traditional, Ecotourism, and Ecological Values*, Rocky Mountain Research Station: US Department of Agriculture, Forest Service, pp. 43–53.

Kaae B C (2006) Greenland/Kalaallit Nunaat, In: Baldacchino G (ed) *Extreme Tourism: Lessons from the World's Cold Water Islands*, Amsterdam: Elsevier, pp. 101–114.

Kohlbacher, F. (2006). The Use of Qualitative Content Analysis in Case Study Research. *Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung/Forum: Qualitative Social Research* (Vol. 7, No. 1).

Ladkin A and Bertramini A M (2002) Collaborative tourism planning: A case study of Cusco, Peru, *Current Issues in Tourism*, Vol. 5(2): 71–93.

Lamers M, van der Duim, R and Spaargaren G (2017) The relevance of practice theories for tourism research, *Annals of Tourism Research*, Vol. 62: 54–63.

Lamers M and Pashkevich A (2018) Short-circuiting cruise tourism practices along the Russian barents sea coast? The case of Arkhangelsk, *Current Issues in Tourism*, Vol. 21(4): 440–454.

Morris J C and Miller-Stevens K (2016) *Advancing Collaboration Theory: Models, Typologies, and Evidence*, New York: Routledge,.

Naalakkersuisut (2016) *Turismeudvikling i Grønland Hvad Skal Der Til? National Sektorplan for Turisme 2016-2020*. Report, Naalakkersuisut, Greenland.

Nicolini D (2012) *Practice Theory, Work, and Organization: An Introduction,* Oxford: Oxford Univeristy Press.

Reckwitz A (2002) Toward a theory of social practices: A development in culturalist theorizing, *European Journal of Social Theory*, Vol. 5(2): 243–263.

Ren C and Chimirri D (2017), *TURISMEUDVIKLING I GRØNLAND - AFDÆKNING OG INSPIRATION*. Aalborg: Aalborg Universitet.

Ren C and Chimirri D (2018) Turisme i Grønland – før, nu og i morgen, *Tidsskriftet Grønland*, Vol. 66(4): 295–302.

Schatzki T, Knorr-Cetina K and Von Savigny E (2001) *The Practice Turn in Contemporary Theory*, London: Routledge.

Schatzki T R (1996) *Social Practices: A Wittgensteinian Approach to Human Activity and the Social*, Cambridge: Cambridge Univ Press.

Schatzki T R (2018) Foreword, In: James L., Ren C and Halkier H (eds) *Theories of Practice in Tourism Theories of Practice in Tourism*, Abingdon: Routledge, pp. xiii-xiv.

Shove E, Pantzar M and Watson M (2012), *The Dynamics of Social Practice: Everyday Life and How It Changes.* London: SAGE Publications Inc.

Shove E, Watson M, Hand M and Ingram J (2007) *The Design of Everyday Life*, Oxford: Berg Publishers.

Sørensen F, Fuglsang L, Sundbo J and Jensen J F (2020) Tourism practices and experience value creation: The case of a themed attraction restaurant, *Tourist Studies*.

de Souza Bispo M (2016) Tourism as practice, *Annals of Tourism Research*, Vol. 61: 170–179.

Statistics Greenland (2019) Greenland in Figures 2019. Report, Statistics Greenland, Greenland, May.

Tommasini D (2011) Tourism Experiences in the Peripheral North. Case Studies from Greenland. In: Paniula N and Møller L N (eds) *INUSSUK Arctic Research Journal*, Nuuk: Ministry of Education & Research.

Vernon J, Essex S, Pinder D and Curry K (2005) Collaborative policymaking: Local sustainable projects, *Annals of Tourism Research*, Vol. 32(2): 325–345.

Visit Greenland (2020) *Towards More Tourism - A Joint Effort for Growth, Innovation and Responsible Tourism. Visit Greenland's Marketing and Market*

Development Strategy 2020-2023. Report, Visit Greenland, Greenland.

Waayers D, Lee D and Newsome D (2012) Exploring the nature of stakeholder collaboration: A case study of marine turtle tourism in the Ningaloo region, Western Australia, *Current Issues in Tourism*, Vol. 15(7): 673–692.

Warde A (2014) After taste: Culture, consumption and theories of practice, *Journal of Consumer Culture*, Vol. 14(3): 279–303.

Wood D J and Gray B (1991) Toward a Comprehensive Theory of Collaboration, *The Journal of Applied Behavioral Science*, Vol. 27(2): 139–162.

ISSN (online): 2246-123X
ISBN (online): 978-87-7210-876-6

AALBORG UNIVERSITY PRESS